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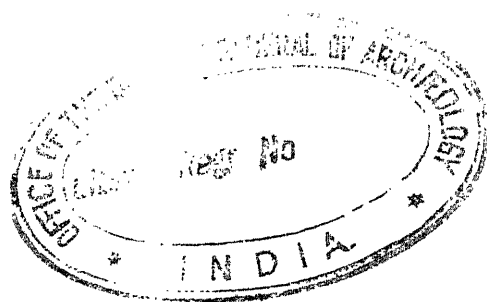
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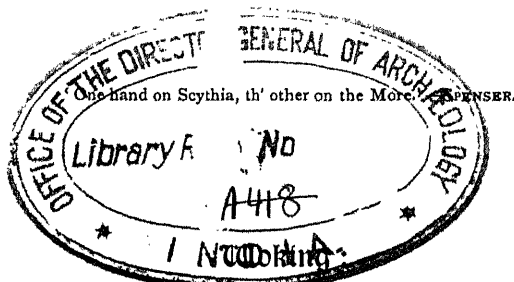
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JANUARY, 1904.

INDIA AND PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS:  
FROM THE INDIAN POINT OF VIEW.

BY SIR ROGER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1896, contained an article, signed by me, on "Imperial Commercial Federation." It was written on the occasion of the practical abolition of the Indian import duties on Lancashire cotton goods. That measure was carried out in the name of the Cobdenite fetish of Free Trade, in defiance of what the Hon. the Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore had declared (at the great meeting of protest held at the Calcutta Town Hall on April 5, 1894) to be the "intense and unanimous feeling of all the different sections of the Indian community," and without even the semblance of any reciprocal concession in favour of Indian productions. I warmly denounced the "iniquitous system" under which such barefaced hypocrisy and such injustice to India could be possible; and I pointed out that the only reasonable solution that would be just and fair alike to Indian and to British interests was an Imperial Commercial Federation, to be constituted "on give-and-take terms, to be settled by previous negotiations between the British and Indian Governments." Such an arrangement, I concluded by saying, would be an enormous boon both to England and to India; for, as regards India, "it would

develop her resources, it would retain her vast populations as the greatest market of the future for our manufactured goods, and at the same time it would remove, definitely and for ever, a very real and deeply-resented inequality."

Mr. Chamberlain's splendid and successful advocacy of Imperial Fiscal Reform has brought these proposals, which in 1896 seemed to many a counsel of perfection, into the region of practical politics. If India is ever to obtain such a fair share of real fiscal independence as is compatible with and demanded by her loyalty to the Empire at large, unshackled by the fetish-worship of pseudo-economic dogmas that are ridiculed as obsolete in every civilized country except England, now is the time for her well-wishers to speak out.

Speaking at Ealing the other day as an antiquated Cobdenite, Lord George Hamilton said :

"India itself is intensely Protectionist, but so long as Free Trade is the policy of this Empire we have a perfect right to say that India shall adopt that system."

As an old Indian officer who owes to India more than he can ever hope to repay, I desire to protest most warmly against this doctrine of the so-called Free Traders. We do not use this imperious tone, this *sic volo, sic jubeo*, to Australia and Canada. It seems to me monstrous that an ex-Secretary of State for India should use it to India, and I feel certain that Lord Curzon and Mr. Brodrick, if called upon, would absolutely repudiate it.

I contrast with these haughty, domineering words the language in which Mr. Chamberlain has approached the question of India's relation to his proposals—a question in regard to which the great apostle of Empire has evidently hitherto been placed at an absolute disadvantage by the jealous dog-in-the-manger attitude of the "man in possession," the late Secretary of State. For, just as the obstinate vanity of a very mediocre Chancellor of the Exchequer has transformed a vital fiscal reform, that was being quietly and easily carried through without any living soul

being a penny the worse, into a battle-royal, evoking all the unscrupulous partisanship of every political party, so the stolid *non possumus* of the late Secretary of State has evidently frustrated until recently all attempts to bring India, with its vast possibilities, into the scheme of federation. In reply to a letter from Sir M. Bhownaggee, Mr. Chamberlain says: "I have had no opportunity of acquainting myself with the opinion either of the Indian Council here or of the Government of India, or, indeed, of any representative authority."\* And after stating his own opinion that a system of Preferential Tariffs would be greatly to the advantage of India, he significantly adds: "In my opinion her wishes ought to be ascertained, as far as that is possible, before anything is done." I believe that every reader of this *Review* will agree with me that that is the right spirit in which England and the British Parliament should approach this great question, and not "we have a perfect right to say that India SHALL adopt" the system that pleases us and our selfish or fanatical prejudices.

I am bound to confess that Lord George's imperious attitude towards Indian public opinion is in the nature of a *damnosa hereditas* handed down to him by some of his predecessors. Even Sir Henry Fowler, from whom many of us hoped better things, while admitting, in his speech at Bristol, that Indian opinion is practically unanimous in favouring import duties and in hating excise duties, proceeded to show, with the "superior" air that is affected by the Dodos of Free Trade, that Indian economists, in common with those of every other civilized country, except

\* It is characteristic of the tactics of the Free Importers that with one accord all their orators and all their journals fall foul of Mr. Chamberlain for having "forgotten India," though many of them, and certainly all his colleagues, must have known that, so long as Lord George Hamilton was Secretary of State for India, it was practically impossible for Mr. Chamberlain to obtain the necessary information to enable him to deal with the Indian question without laying himself open to the imputation of discourtesy towards Lord George.



the survivals in Great Britain, are hopelessly wrong ! And it must be admitted that nothing could be more haughtily dogmatic than the resolution on this subject carried in the House of Commons on July 11, 1877, by the Lancashire members : " That the duties now levied upon cotton manufactures imported into India, being Protective in their nature, are contrary to sound commercial policy, and ought to be repealed without delay so soon as the financial condition of India will permit." And, of course, Lord Lytton's Government had no option but to obey this mandate. So the Indian Financial Statement of March in the following year (1878) set forth the situation in the following arrogant terms :

" It is not necessary now to discuss the advantages to a country of Free Trade and the disadvantages of Protective duties. It is sufficient to say that these have been admitted for many years by the statesmen who, of whatever party, have guided the policy of the United Kingdom. They must be regarded as a part of the national policy which Great Britain has finally adopted, and which the Secretary of State for India, with the deliberate approval of the House of Commons, has required (*sic*) the Government of India in this country to carry out."

It was stated in a recent article in the *Times of India* that it had leaked out that the determination to carry through this dragooning of Indian public opinion in 1878 had only been adopted in the Viceroy's Council by the exercise of the Viceroy's own authority, no other member of the Council supporting it except the Finance Minister. Of course, this cannot be positively known, but it was absolutely notorious at the time that the vast majority of the Indian Civil Service—the article in the *Times of India* said a majority of ten to one, and I believe this to be far within the mark—strenuously objected to such wanton destruction of a most valuable Indian revenue asset at the bidding, not of England, but of an English interest.

It was argued by the majority of the Indian Civil

Service, and by every Indian-born economist—just as it is now argued by Mr. Chamberlain—that the fiscal relations between the constituent parts of the British Empire should be adjusted, not by the imperious *fiat* of one, as Lord George Hamilton says, but by fair and honourable negotiations on the give-and-take system. If India takes off the cotton duties, and gives a preference to British cotton and British iron and steel, to British woollens, and so forth—and what an awakening of British industry would this imply!—then let the United Kingdom reciprocate, and not take all and give nothing, as the so-called Free Traders wish. Let the Indian Government be free to do justice, and abolish the vexatious and inquisitorial Excise duties on Indian cotton goods, which are such a shameful burden on the Indian cotton industry; and let us here in England give a preference of 2s. a quarter to Indian wheat over American, and a similar preference to Indian rice and Indian sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, and indigo. Let us admit, free of all duty, Indian maize and the numerous other Indian products that are taxed by the foreigner. In a word, as Mr. Chamberlain observed the other day, let us show India that, just as Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Warwickshire are sister-counties that give a natural preference to each other's products, so India, Canada, Australia, and South Africa are sister-States with the United Kingdom, and are each and all entitled to all the privileges of the citizenship of the greatest Empire on earth.

As to the hypocritical pretence that no arrangement of this kind can benefit the Indian masses, and that it can only benefit a few tea-planters in Assam and Southern India, and a few indigo-planters in Behar, I venture to say there is not an educated and intelligent person resident in India—whether of Indian or of English birth—who does not know that this is a Pecksniffian absurdity, much like the pretence that Lancashire's desire for the remission of the Indian cotton duties is for the sake of the poor Indian consumer! Oh, that these bigots would clear their

minds of partisan cant and humbug,\* and honestly face the facts *en plein jour*!

Let us consider, as briefly as possible, a few of the facts of the Indian exports. Consider the economic results of a preference of 2s. a quarter to Indian wheat over American in the British market. In the wheat-growing zone of India there are now some 31,000,000 acres of culturable land lying waste—much of it simply because the value of the crop in an uncertain market will not pay for irrigation and cultivation, except in years when the food-grain crops in other parts of India have failed. Although the preference of 2s. a quarter on wheat would not appreciably affect the price of bread to the English consumer—at the very worst, if it were all paid by him (which is practically absurd) it could

\* I hope that my readers will understand, when I use hard words like "cant" and "humbug," that I am applying them, not to persons, but to the system commonly known as Free Trade, but falsely so named. It would, in my humble opinion, be difficult to name two statesmen more entirely removed from the slightest suspicion of unfairness, or insincerity, or lack of moral courage, than the two distinguished ex-Ministers named in the text. And I am quite sure that their ideal of Free Trade is something very different from the odious hypocrisy that, at one and the same moment, demands the abolition of the Indian import duties on English cotton goods "for the sake of the poor Indian consumer," and cries out for the imposition of excise duties on Indian cotton goods in the name of Free Trade, and regardless of the same poor Indian consumer. Can anything too hard be said of a system that, when the Dundee jute-mills and the Calcutta jute-mills are both being injured by German "dumping," agitates, not for the stopping of the German dumping by the only means in our power, but for the Government of India to pass a Factory Act for the sake of the "poor Indian factory hands"? (See the discussion of this proposal in the *Radical Dundee Advertiser* of September 22.) The Calcutta apologist for German dumping—a gentleman who hides his nationality under the Latin pseudonym of "Scrutator" in the correspondence columns of the *Englishman*—attacks me viciously for having proposed that England and India should combine to give each other preference against the foreigner. The good faith of that attack, which, being anonymous, is not worth an answer, may be gathered from the fact that he says of my proposal: "These neo-Imperialists would close the Calcutta mills and begrudge the prosperity not only of foreign countries, but also of England's own children." Whatever may be said against Preferential Tariffs, such a suggestion as this of "Scrutator's" is either childish or else an attempt to trade on the inattention of the general reader

not add more than a bare farthing to the cost of the loaf—yet to the Indian grower it would make all the difference, often between profit and loss, always between a certain and an uncertain market. And who shall say how much of those 30,000,000 of acres of culturable waste would be brought into cultivation?—how many thousands or hundreds of thousands it would employ?—how far it would raise the average rate of wages throughout Northern India?—how far it would benefit our Indian land revenue and our Indian canal revenue, thereby permitting remissions of other burdens on the people? And I have not here mentioned the greatest boon of all that will be conferred on the masses of India by Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to give a preference to Indian wheat—the absolute insurance of India against famine that must be afforded by a large expansion of wheat-growing under irrigation, thereby providing a huge margin of never-failing food-grain grown for profitable exportation, but always available to be diverted for the needs of famine-stricken districts in India itself. The immense importance of this point to the people and the Government of India has been so clearly explained in the correspondence columns of the *Times* by Sir Edward Buck—himself one of the greatest living authorities on the whole subject—that it is quite unnecessary to do more than to refer readers to Sir Edward Buck's masterly exposition.

Or consider a preference given to Indian sugar. With a system of Preferential Tariffs we shall not need the aid of the Sugar Bounties Convention any longer than the period for which we may be bound to it at the time of the adoption of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. And then, what an infinite boon a Preferential Tariff will be to the masses of India has been eloquently proved by Lord George Hamilton himself in the House of Commons in 1899, when exposing the havoc wrought by the Bounties, and showing the value of countervailing duties. He proved to the satisfaction of the House of Commons the

fact, well known to all district officers in India, that the sugar-producing industry there is one of immense importance to the general prosperity of the country, as well as in particular to the land revenue and the canal revenue. He proved that the area of sugar production had already contracted under the malign influence of the German and Austrian and French bounties,\* and that this tendency, if unchecked by Indian legislation, must rapidly lead to utter disaster. Mr. Chamberlain's proposals will secure for this great industry, which is indigenous in nearly every *zila* in India, the richest markets in the world. With a curious forgetfulness of his recent position as Indian Minister, Lord George Hamilton, at Ealing, when deriding Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion that Canada might obtain her supplies of tropical produce within the Empire instead of buying them from the Southern States of America, actually declared that "we do not produce sugar, cotton, tobacco, and maize!" What a statement for an Indian ex-Secretary to make! Of course, he was only thinking of Little England.

Take, again, the crop of seeds, which is perhaps the most lucrative one to the masses of India. Great Britain alone, in addition to the supply of seeds she already gets from India, buys from the foreigner seeds to the value of £5,000,000 annually, and there are also vast markets in the colonies. Once give India the advantage of a preference, and she will have the command of those markets, and may even return the foreigners' compliments by doing some dumping on her own account! And similarly with tobacco and many other indigenous products, *quos perscribere longum*.

The immense profit, that will accrue from this reform, to the tea, coffee, and indigo interests is too obvious to

\* The India Office return No. 181 of 1899 says: "The acreage of sugar-cane cultivation in India (not including the Native States) has shown a marked decline since the year 1890-1891." And further on it says: "In the matter of exports from India to other countries there has been a very serious falling off."

call for discussion, and is, indeed, generally admitted by the enemy. "Oh yes," say the Free Importers, "but all this profit will only go into the pockets of the bloated planters of Assam, Darjeeling, Behar, and Southern India, and will not benefit the Indian masses at all." What rubbish this is will certainly be obvious to anyone who has ever resided in a planting district. Of course, some of the profits of the vast expansion of the tea, coffee, and indigo industries will rightly go into the pockets of those planters, English and Indian, whose enterprise will carry out that expansion. But, after all, those profits will be a small matter compared with the immense increase of employment in those districts (tending to increase the rate of wages everywhere) and in their *zila* towns, with the similar increase of traffic on the railways and steamboat lines, with the great quickening of business in the seaports and elsewhere throughout India. It seems to me a shocking thing that merely because a considerable number of the planters and tea, coffee, and indigo merchants and brokers happen to be English gentlemen, the Free Importers grudge the people of India these great benefits for fear that some Englishmen should share in them. The Continental protection of synthetic indigo has already wellnigh ruined the indigo industry of India, just as the Continental protection of beet-sugar ruined the sugar industry. But let our Indian indigo planters, as well as our tea and coffee planters, take to heart the lesson of the history of the Sugar Bounties. So long as we took our punishment lying down, the dumping of sugar went up year after year by leaps and bounds. But at last the West India planters took arms against their sea of troubles. They organized constitutional resistance. They aroused public opinion at home; and then it was a case of "Fire, fire, burn stick—stick, stick, beat dog!" and so on. Members of Parliament began to hear from their constituents about this iniquity, and then at length Lord George Hamilton thought it was time to try a little Protective retaliation, and so ultimately we got the Sugar

Bounties Convention, although the advocates of German and Austrian dumping declared that English jam-makers and confectioners would be ruined, just as the "friends of every country but their own" are to-day howling about the English consumer. The dumping of beet-sugar is stopped, and we have got Free Trade properly so called, and not Free Dumping, in sugar. There is once more some relation between the "cost of production" of sugar and its value in the markets of the world. And not a single jam-maker is a penny the worse. And so will it be with tea, coffee, and indigo; but it will be mainly owing to the splendid courage and marvellous initiative of one man—Mr. Chamberlain.

But now let me turn to another of the objections of the Free Importers. They are afraid that if England and India give each other mutual trade preferences as against the foreigner, foreign Governments will retaliate by raising their tariffs still higher against both. Well, every foreign Government in the world already makes its tariff against us as high as it possibly can, so far as, and no further than, it suits its own convenience and that of its subjects. Every foreign Government in the world believes in and acts upon the doctrines of that "national" school of political economy preached by Friedrich List and by all modern economists—except a few "survivals" in England, who persist in sticking to the obsolete "Cosmopolitan" doctrines that were in vogue in the time of Ricardo, Mill, and Bastiat. Every other nation in the world has long ago found out that if you take care of your home markets—that is, in our case, markets within the Empire—the foreign markets will take care of themselves. So they already take good care that England and India shall not intrude on their preserves more than happens to be quite convenient to themselves. And their Governments are not a parcel of spiteful old women, to depart from this salutary fiscal policy merely out of spite at any action of ours.

But even if things were otherwise, both England and

India occupy by far the strongest position in the world in this respect. For we shall still be by far the biggest market in the world for every foreign commercial nation ; and here, again, their Governments are not going to irritate their subjects' best customers out of mere spite.

For, be it remembered, no Preferential Tariff to be imposed under Mr. Chamberlain's scheme will be a severe or prohibitive one against the foreigner—it will only be sufficiently large to give the “turn of the market” within the Empire, and at the same time to yield a considerable revenue out of our foreign trade.

And yet further, an examination of the details of the Indian foreign trade shows conclusively that the Little Englander dread of foreign retaliation is a mere bugbear. This is proved to absolute demonstration in a very able and exhaustive article that appeared in the *Madras Mail* of October 26, 1903. And as it is very necessary that the striking facts and arguments therein set forth should be widely known and discussed by everyone who is concerned for the commercial prosperity of India, I need offer no apology for making the following quotations from it :

As regards Russia, the whip-hand is certainly with India, since this country affords a market for over Rs. 3 crores' worth of Russian kerosene oil, which it could obtain, if need were, from America and Burma ; while, in return, Russia practically excludes Indian produce. The last official returns show that in the year 1901-1902 only Rs. 21 lakhs' worth of Indian goods found a market in Russia, the latter exacting the following heavy import-duties : On raw cotton, Rs. 10 per hundredweight ; on indigo, Rs. 16 per hundredweight ; on raw jute, Rs. 3 per hundredweight ; on tea, As. 14 per pound.

As regards the United States, India's position is a different one. The United States sell in India a little over Rs. 1 crore's worth of goods, the bulk being kerosene oil, with some cotton goods, iron and steel manufactures, and tobacco ; but they afford a market for over Rs. 8 crores' worth of Indian produce. India's principal exports to the United States are jute and bags (Rs. 4 crores) and hides (Rs. 3 crores). These are, no doubt, essential as raw material for the American manufacturer and the American farmer, and the returns show no import duty upon them in consequence. They are, nevertheless, items upon which retaliation would be possible, though to attempt it might, in the long-run, do more harm to the United States than to India.

In the case of Germany the problem is more complicated. Germany



buys annually Rs. 10 crores' worth of Indian produce, and sells in India about Rs. 3 crores' worth of her own goods. At first sight, therefore, it would seem that Germany is in the position of a good customer whom India should, under no circumstances, quarrel with. This idea is quickly dispelled, however, when the items which make up the bulk of the trade are examined. Germany's exports to India are almost exclusively such manufactured goods as hardware, piece-goods, glassware, liquor, steel and iron manufactures, sugar, woollen manufactures, paper, matches, and aniline and alizarine dyes, all of which India could easily obtain elsewhere. The only considerable exception is salt, but even this could easily be replaced by the Liverpool or the indigenous article. On the other hand, almost all India's exports to Germany are raw produce, which Germany requires for the supply of her factories. The principal are jute (Rs.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores), raw cotton (Rs. 1 crore) and hides (Rs. 1 crore), which appear to be admitted free for obvious reasons, and rice and seeds, on which Germany, as it is, imposes high duties—viz., on rice, Rs. 2-4-6 per hundredweight; on rape seed, Rs. 1-14-6; on til and poppy seed, As. 12-3 per hundredweight; and on linseed, As. 4-6 per hundredweight.

France, Belgium, Austro-Hungary, and Italy are all very much in the same category as Germany. Their imports into India are all manufactured articles, and they take little but raw produce in return. The figures show that a considerable portion of this raw produce they admit free. There are, however, numerous exceptions. France, for example, has duties of Rs. 41 per hundredweight on coffee, Rs. 62 per hundredweight on pepper, Rs. 2 per hundredweight on wheat, and As. 14-6 on rice. Austro-Hungary charges Rs. 30 per hundredweight on coffee, Rs. 1-8 per hundredweight on rice, and As. 12-2 per hundredweight on rape seed. Italy has duties of Rs. 45 per ton on wheat, about Rs. 1-8 per hundredweight on seeds, and As. 14-8 per hundredweight on raw cotton.

Upon the whole it will be seen that the position of India—at least, in regard to Europe—is an exceedingly strong one. India is the purchaser of some Rs. 14 crores' worth of foreign manufactured goods annually, which it admits at the nominal duty of 5 per cent. Its exports to Europe, on the other hand, are almost entirely raw produce, which is admitted on favourable terms only so far as it is required to feed the factories of the countries concerned. Coffee, which it exports in a finished state, is heavily taxed; and the same is true as regards indigo and tea in the case of Russia. India's exports largely exceed her imports as a whole. When raw materials are excluded, however, as they must necessarily be in any calculation of the kind—since no country can, in the long-run, afford to tax them—it will be seen that there is an enormous margin for profitable negotiation. There is no considerable country of Europe which does not sell to India more manufactured goods than it buys from her. There is no country which treats India as generously in the matter of duties as India has hitherto treated the rest of the world.

I have no hesitation in asserting that the facts here given knock the bottom out of the case of those Radical orators—

like Mr. Toulmin at Bury in Lancashire—who go about protesting that we must do nothing to protect India's trade lest the dreadful foreigner should retaliate upon her. Speaking at Bury on November 14, Mr. Toulmin said: "Lancashire could not afford to have India's trade gambled with" in "the dice-box of retaliation!" No; the prescription for improving India's trade advocated by Mr. Toulmin's party is an Indian Factory Act, as suggested in the article in the *Radical Dundee Advertiser* already quoted.

Perhaps the strongest point made by the *Dundee Advertiser* against any fiscal reform for India is contained in an article in that journal of November 11, in which the *Bengalee* is quoted as saying: "India needs Protection neither against Germany nor against America, but she needs Protection against England, and needs it badly, too." Of course, if the contention that is implied by the *Dundee Advertiser* were true, that the commercial magnates of India would rather have commercial union with Germany and America than with England and the Colonies; that they think that their interests would be better consulted if India were left out of the British Imperial Zollverein, and that they prefer the *Dundee Advertiser's* Factory Acts and German and American dumping rather than the trade preferences in the markets of England and the Colonies proposed by Mr. Chamberlain; then the case for the *Dundee Advertiser's* proposal of an Indian Factory Act would be much strengthened. But it seems incredible that any high-class Indian journal, conducted by Indian-born writers, and really representing the views of Indian-born commercial magnates, could seriously support such an absurd and suicidal contention.

In this paper I have considered Mr. Chamberlain's suggestions for inter-Imperial Preferential Tariffs simply from the point of view of the commercial interests of India. As far as the commercial interests of England are concerned, I am absolutely persuaded that they also will be far better safeguarded by this friendly give-and-take arrangement

between England and India than they would be by any number of the *Dundee Advertiser's* Indian Factory Acts.

A very clever and well-informed series of articles by an Indian-born economist has appeared in the *Times of India* over the signature of "Hindu Imperialist," and they show conclusively that the higher intellect of India is on this side. His Highness the Gaekwár—who is not only the supreme ruler under the Emperor of a kingdom larger than Saxony and more populous than Greece, but is also one of the ablest and most advanced thinkers of India—at the opening last year of the Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition, spoke some highly significant and instructive words on this subject, which I have quoted in a recent pamphlet. In his inaugural address, referring to the teaching of the modern school of economics in Germany and America—of which he evidently knew more than the sleepy professors of some of our British Universities—His Highness used the following very significant words :

"The laws of political economy are not inexorable, and must bend to the exigencies of time and place. Theories and doctrines, however plausible, cannot take precedence of plain and practical truths. It is true that Free Trade enables a country to procure at cheaper rates those articles that can be manufactured more conveniently in foreign lands, but this cheapness is dearly bought by the loss of industrial status and the reduction of a whole people to a helpless proletariat. National defence against alien industrial inroads is more important than the cheapness of a few articles."

And these wise and thoughtful words of nearly the greatest of all our Indian potentates were ably emphasized by the Hon. Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta, a member of the Legislative Council of Bombay, and perhaps the most popular leader of the "Young India" school of politicians. He boldly declared that Protection is "not inconsistent with the true principles of Free Trade," and he concluded a powerful speech with these words: "This country has

higher claims for Protection from the British Government, as those claims are founded upon their past policy, which has annihilated our once flourishing arts and industries."

Lord Herschel's Committee, appointed by the Radical Government in 1894 to investigate and report on the best means of increasing the revenues of India, reported that, of all modes of Indian taxation, import duties "excite the least opposition," and might be said "even to be popular." And even the late Professor Fawcett, who learnt his political economy and published his views at a time when the ancient Free Trade dogmas were hardly questioned in England, really took much the same enlightened view of the Indian fiscal question as that quoted above from His Highness the Gaekwár. Writing against the License Tax and the enhancement of the Salt Duty in 1879, he said:

"In considering questions of taxation nothing can be more unwise than to conclude that that particular tax must be the best which is most in accord with the principles of economic science. The tastes, the habits, and the wishes of the people on whom the tax is to be imposed ought to be most carefully considered."

That is, in effect, exactly what the Gaekwár said, and what Mr. Chamberlain is saying day after day. And I feel very confident that it would be difficult to find one single Indian-born economist or statesman in any responsible position in India who would care to tell his countrymen that he advocates for them Factory Acts, License Taxes, and excise duties, rather than the Preferential Tariffs that are proposed for them under Mr. Chamberlain's Imperial plan.

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Since this article was in type I have had the advantage of reading an article on the same subject in the December number of the *Empire Review* by Sir Charles Elliott, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Sir Charles is, as everyone connected with India knows, beyond doubt the highest

living authority on all economic questions connected with the material condition of the Indian peoples. As the famous secretary of the Famine Commission, and himself the protagonist in well-nigh every campaign against Indian famine, it is impossible to exaggerate the weight and importance of the plain declaration with which he concludes his article: "The facts and arguments set forth in this article seem to show that, as far as India is concerned, the adoption of a system of Preferential Tariffs will be beneficial to the trade of the two countries, and will offend against no sound economic principles."

When two such authorities as Sir Charles Elliott and Sir Edward Buck spontaneously and independently record their deliberate conviction that the best possible insurance against Indian famines is to be looked for in the expansion of the Indian wheat-growing industry that will follow the adoption of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, it seems to me that it must be impossible for any sincere well-wisher of India any longer to resist those proposals.

Then, again, Sir Charles Elliott absolutely pulverizes the suggestion of the Little Englanders and the Free Importer parrots that the foreigner, unless we are very humble to him, will retaliate on Indian trade. After examining the trade of India in detail with quite unsurpassed personal knowledge, Sir Charles concludes: "The prospect of a boycott against such a trade as this is one which India could well afford to laugh at!"

## THE MODERN HISTORY OF TRIAL BY JURY IN INDIA.\*

BY T. DURANT BEIGHTON.

THE subject of criminal administration is one of the most important in any civilized community—perhaps the most vital of all after providing for the national security. It is of paramount concern that the machinery for the detection, conviction, and punishment of crime should be the most efficient that can be devised. It is almost equally desirable that the system should command the assent, respect, and sympathy of the people, whatever their religion or nationality. It cannot be denied that our native fellow-subjects in India have learned to appreciate the boon of a pure administration of justice. Possibly it is the only outcome of our rule which they regard as an unmixed benefit. But equality and certainty are factors as necessary for the proper administration of justice as purity. It is the object of the present paper to inquire whether these desiderata are secured under the system of trial by jury in the Provincial Courts of India. I have perhaps some claim to speak with experience, if not with authority, on this subject. I have presided as judge in six out of the seven districts in Bengal in which the system was during my period of service in force, and have devoted a considerable portion of my official life to a study of its problems, defects, and anomalies.

The present is not an inappropriate time for an examination of the results of trial by jury. The drift of English opinion, both professional and lay, nowadays tolerates an extent of interference with verdicts, especially in civil cases, which would have been regarded with horror a few decades ago. The time-honoured sanctity of the verdict is a thing of the past. Perverse or ridiculous verdicts are no longer received with exaggerated respect. They are openly derided

\* See the Proceedings of the East India Association, elsewhere in this *Review*, for discussion on the paper.

by counsel, contemptuously swept aside by the judge, and a decision of an entirely opposite character is occasionally announced with the full approval of intelligent public opinion.

The title of this paper is rather a misnomer, and has been adopted merely for convenience. The article is concerned only with the trial of natives of India in the Sessions Courts by a native jury, and has nothing whatever to do with the trial of European British subjects. My illustrations and quotations are drawn mainly from the province of Bengal. I have striven to avoid legal technicalities and references to individual decisions in the law-courts. In making necessary classifications, I have ignored minute details and trifling exceptions, dealing with the subject on broad lines. I have often omitted all reference to such portions of the procedure as are common to England and India. The statistics and reports at my disposal are very numerous and complicated, and the subject is susceptible of examination from so many different standpoints that it is difficult to discuss it adequately within reasonable limits. I must therefore claim indulgence if I have occasionally to sacrifice completeness to the necessity for compression. One word more by way of preface: I must guard myself against the possible imputation of partial and one-sided treatment by frankly admitting that the main objective of this paper is to criticise the system and its results, and that the requisite economy of space can only be obtained by referring somewhat incidentally and briefly to the well-known views of its advocates and apologists.

The foundation of the modern system of Criminal Procedure is the Code of 1861. By this Act two modes of trial for accused persons committed to the Courts of Sessions were constituted. The majority of offences were triable by a judge with the aid of two or more assessors, whose opinion at the end of the trial he was to consider, but by which he was not bound. The decision rested exclusively with him, and an appeal lay to the High Court on the facts. The alternative mode of trial was by jury. In jury trials the verdict was to be binding

on the Court. The Code enacted (Section 322) that the "Local Government may order that the trial of all or any particular class of offences shall be by jury in any district, and may from time to time revoke or alter such order." The jurymen were to be of uneven number, not less than five nor more than nine. In all the later Codes the number was fixed at five. The verdict of a substantial majority of the jury was to be accepted and was final, unless misdirection on the part of the Sessions Judge was established. I cannot but think that the policy of leaving so much latitude to Provincial Governments was a grave mistake. No doubt it was believed that the Local Government was the best, and perhaps the only, authority capable of deciding in which district an efficient jury list could be maintained. But it would have been wiser had the Legislature inserted a provision in the Code of 1861 that these notifications should be subject to the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council. This important restriction on the power of Local Governments became law only in 1896, and was not codified until 1898, when the mischief was beyond remedy. Had this power of control existed in 1861, the Governor-General in Council, while abstaining from interference with local authorities as to localities, could have endeavoured to secure some uniformity in principle as to the classification of the offences so triable. The result was an extraordinary diversity in the classifications actually adopted by the various local authorities. Thus, in Bengal the notification extended trial by jury to seven out of some forty districts for all offences against the public tranquillity, false evidence and offences against public justice, offences affecting the human body, against property, and relating to documents. In the United Provinces the system is in force in three out of the forty-nine districts, and includes offences against the person, (excluding culpable homicide), offences against property, and those relating to marriage. In Madras, on the other hand, where trial by jury is almost universal, it is restricted to offences against property. The most



astonishing discrimination of all was that adopted by the Government of Bombay, who came to the conclusion that the gravity of the offence was the criterion which indicated the propriety of its being tried by jury. Accordingly, in six out of the twenty-three districts it was notified that all offences punishable by death, transportation for life, or imprisonment for ten years, should be so tried. Considering the avowedly experimental nature of its introduction, one can but marvel at the temerity which restricted a new and untried form of trial to those offences where a miscarriage of justice was most likely to occur, and where the consequences of failure were most disastrous to everyone concerned.

The system was, as I have said, introduced tentatively. The Governments of each Province, as the years went on, glanced anxiously at the statistics, and consulted the various local officials as to the results. The views expressed from time to time show the profound distrust with which it was regarded by the vast majority of its critics. I shall later on examine in some detail the defects and anomalies which have been brought to light. I am now concerned with the subject from a historical standpoint. It was decided that miscarriages of justice were so frequent that it was dangerous to leave the decision irrevocably to the jury. In the words of a distinguished judge of the Calcutta High Court, (Mr. Justice Jackson) in which all the other judges concurred :

“ In cases where popular superstition, prejudice, and predilections operated for or against the accused, it was very unlikely that the verdict would be in accordance with the evidence. Juries would often acquit in the face of the clearest proof rather than run the risk of conducting to a capital sentence, more especially if the crime had arisen from conjugal infidelity, and it was . . . next to impossible to obtain from native juries the conviction of a Brahmin.”

The following extract from the speech of the Honourable Mr. Stephen (afterwards Mr. Justice Stephen), in introducing the Code of 1872, is of great interest, as it explains in luminous words the important and indeed vital

alteration in the law then effected, which, with merely verbal modifications, exists at the present day—namely, the substitution of a reversible verdict for a final one.

“We propose that if the judge differs from the jury he may refer the case for the opinion of the High Court. . . . I am aware that some of my honourable colleagues think that we have changed the spirit of the whole system so much by these alterations that it would have been better to sweep it away altogether. I cannot myself think so. I certainly should not have suggested the introduction of the jury system into India if I had not found it here, and I cannot say that the opinions given of it by those who have had experience of its working are at all favourable. They were not, however, so altogether unfavourable as to induce us to take the step of recommending its total abolition. In giving the judge power to refer to the High Court cases in which he differs from the jury, we have no doubt made a considerable alteration upon English precedents; but the alteration, if adopted, will be entirely in harmony with the whole spirit of Indian criminal procedure, the very essence of which is control and supervision by one set of courts over another. We do not, of course, mean that the judge should act in this manner in every case in which he has doubts as to the propriety of a verdict, or even in those cases in which he feels that if he had been a juror he would not have returned the same verdict. Our intention is that he should exercise the power in question in those cases only in which it is necessary to do so in order to prevent a manifest failure of justice; and having regard to the strong motive which the judge always has for avoiding all future trouble by accepting the view taken by a jury, I think there is little reason to fear that the power will be abused.”

Accordingly, the Code of 1872 (Section 263) empowered a Sessions Judge to refer for the decision of the High Court any case in which he considered the verdict of the jury to be subversive of the ends of justice. The Judge was at the same time authorized to accept the verdict of a bare, instead of a substantial, majority.

No one can read between the lines of Mr. Stephen's remarks without being impressed with the misgivings entertained by that distinguished jurist as to the advisability of retaining the system at all, even with the proposed alteration. When it was found that the only logical basis of trial by jury, the finality of the verdict, had to be swept away, would it not have been wiser to have abandoned the system altogether as unsuited to the country? The foundation of the fabric had disappeared—only the framework remained. In 1872 the Government was in a position to come to a final decision. They stood at the parting of the ways. The system had existed for ten years, a period quite long enough to judge of its suitability to the country, and yet not so long that its removal would have been felt as a grievance. There were, as I think, only two logical alternatives: either the system should have been publicly admitted to be a failure and abolished, or it should have been retained in its original shape in spite of its drawbacks. The Government took neither course. Deprived of its most vital attribute, it is a mere lifeless trunk transplanted into an uncongenial soil.

A brief comparison of the so-called jury system of India with its prototype in England will, however, disclose other striking differences. The fundamental principle of trial by jury is thus explained by Blackstone: "Our law has wisely placed this strong and twofold barrier of a presentment or preparatory accusation of twelve or more of his fellow-subjects and of a trial by jury between the liberties of the people and the prerogative of the Crown." In India the functions of the grand jury do not exist, and the offences in which the interests of the Government are most directly concerned in the punishment of the offender, in other words, those offences for which trial by jury was originally claimed for the protection of public liberty—offences against the State and offences by, or relating to, public servants—are the very crimes which are excluded from the scope of the system by all the Provincial Governments. The great

bulwark of liberty is withdrawn in precisely that class of cases for which, above all others, it ought to exist.

Another important variation is that in England the jury are theoretically excluded from outside interference during the progress of a trial. I say "theoretically" because, although the seclusion of the jury is rigorously enforced in murder cases, some latitude is allowed in the trial of less heinous offences. The jury, however, are generally locked up in important trials during the mid-day adjournment, an excellent provision in cases lasting only for one day. If in England these precautions are necessary, where the system has been in existence for centuries, where the standard of morality is presumably higher, and where unquestionably the individual juror is less likely to be influenced either by the current of popular opinion or by contact with persons interested in the result, it is surely of still greater importance in India. There is unimpeachable evidence to show that in trials of importance, lasting several days or even weeks, attempts are made to intimidate, persuade, or bribe jurymen to give a verdict favourable to the interests of influential criminals or complainants.

"Jurymen are canvassed, applications are made to their relatives and friends to influence them, and the result is that it is almost hopeless to secure a conviction against wealthy and powerful men, especially if their trials last more than one day." This is the evidence of a well-known and distinguished native pleader. Later on I shall give a pregnant illustration drawn from my own experience. No remedy can be found for this serious drawback. The High Court of Calcutta observed on one occasion, when they had been pressed by the Government of Bengal to frame rules to prevent contact with outsiders:

"The willing co-operation of the native public who supply the jury is essential to the success of the system. The duty of serving on a jury is extremely irksome to a portion of the native community, and anything that would add to the existing inconvenience or cause annoyance would have

the effect of making the institution so unpopular that no native of respectability who could afford to pay the fine for default would ever be found to serve on a jury, and the ultimate success of the experiment would be out of the question."

It might be added that it would be altogether impracticable. Difficulties connected with the rules of caste, food, the character and the domestic habits of natives of India, would make it impossible to devise any rules that could be enforced.

To sum up the case so far : We find that the three main features of trial by jury properly so-called are lacking in India. The absence of a sufficient standard of education, and a possibly well-founded distrust of the political sentiments of the people, have compelled the Government to abstain from entrusting to a jury the adjudication of crimes against the State and offences committed by public servants ; the reasons urged by Mr. Justice Jackson and others have necessitated the abandonment of the finality of the verdict ; and, lastly, the incidents of native life and habits preclude the possibility of the seclusion of the jury from outside influences. It follows as a necessary conclusion from these premisses that the Indian jury system, having little or no resemblance to its English model, and no justification as an agency for resisting the prerogatives of the State, must stand or fall on its merits, to adopt the words of a memorable despatch of the Government of India, "as a means for the repression of crime."

I now come to the Code of 1882, in which an alteration was effected in the language, defining the duties of the judge when he dissented from the verdict. This alteration was an unfortunate one, and had prejudicial, if unforeseen, effects on the administration of justice. Under the Code of 1872, the recommendation of Mr. Stephen above quoted that cases should be referred where there was "a manifest failure of justice" was clearly carried out by the language used. In the new Code the Legislation enacted that "If the judge disagrees with the verdict . . . so completely

that he considers it necessary for the ends of justice to refer the case, he shall submit the case accordingly." This language seems to me neither quite grammatical nor explanatory. It has certainly given rise to a great variety of judicial interpretation. The word "complete" is hardly susceptible of modification, and the phrase is ambiguous and open to misconstruction. The mistake lay in diverting the judge's attention from the justice or injustice of the verdict to a psychological study of his own mental attitude, and the Law Reports are filled with hopelessly contradictory interpretations of a judge's duties. Some have refused to refer the case unless the verdict was a *jugement saugrenu*, while others, as in Madras and Bombay of late years, save themselves much troublesome mental introspection by cutting the Gordian knot, and referring every case in which they would have come to a different conclusion from that of the jury. The powers of the High Court in disposing of the reference are to be found in the last clause of the paragraph: "The High Court shall deal with the case so submitted as it would deal with an appeal, but it may acquit or convict the accused person on the facts as well as the law. . . ."

These august bodies have displayed at least as much diversity of opinion as regards their powers and duties in disposing of such references as the lower tribunals have shown in deciding whether they should make the reference or not. The question of the degree of completeness with which the judge dissented from the verdict so as to justify the reference proved as thorny a problem to the superior as to the lower courts, and one or two decisions have gone the length of asserting that the Judges of the High Court will not apply their minds to the correctness or otherwise of the verdict at all unless the judge expressed himself as "completely at issue with it."

The only other provision which need be referred to at present is one which directs the jury to return a verdict on all the charges on which the accused is tried, and allows the judge to ask them "such questions as are necessary to

ascertain what their verdict is. The questions and answers must be recorded." I shall have something to say upon this topic in dealing with the report of the Jury Commission in 1892.

I now proceed to examine with some particularity the nature and extent of the defects in the system as indicated by statistics and illustrations, and then to inquire whether the provisions for interference by the High Court are in practice more efficacious for preventing injustice than the foregoing sketch of the diversity of views held by different members of the High Courts would theoretically suggest as likely.

The first practical difficulty is the paucity of educated men in most of the jury districts outside the Presidency towns. All male persons between the age of twenty-one and sixty residing in the district where the trial is held are under the present Code nominally liable to serve. There follows, however, a formidable list of classes exempt from service, which includes a large proportion of the élite of the community. This long list is supplemented by a further provision, which authorizes Government to exempt any person it pleases from liability to serve in addition to those exempted by reason of their rank from personal appearance in court under the Code of Civil Procedure. This privilege is often claimed by persons of high social position, and when granted sets the Government seal of respectability on the avoidance of the highest duty of citizenship. The list of jurors for each district is made up by the Judge and Magistrate-Collector sitting together from materials usually supplied by the police. It is intended to contain the names of all the men of such position, social standing, and capacity, excluding those who can claim exemption, as presumably to fit them for performing their duty as jurymen. Under the Act of 1872 the list was formed from persons residing within ten miles of headquarters. The enlargement of the area was due to the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of competent men within the limits

originally fixed. The list even now in most districts of Bengal is, notwithstanding the enlargement of the area, a meagre one. In 1887 there was some suggestion of the extension of the system to the districts of Midnapur, Jessor, Chittagong, and Rajshahye, in the Province of Bengal. The suggestion was quickly abandoned when it was found that the numbers available for service were respectively only 107, 207, 250, and 120. The advantages of enlarging the area have proved more or less illusory. The hardship and expense involved in the long distances which jurors from remote parts of the district have to travel by palanquin or boat have increased the unpopularity of a function which has always been repugnant to the majority of native gentlemen. Notwithstanding the alleged eagerness with which its advocates urge that trial by jury is demanded by the people at large, universal experience shows that in practice individuals drawn by lot to serve will resort to every subterfuge to escape. Jurors living in the interior of the district evade service by connivance with the police. So do many of the landowners and the wealthier classes generally. For these and other reasons only about half of the number of jury summoned (usually ten) actually attend the court. They are nearly all residents at headquarters, and consist of shopkeepers, clerks in Government offices, and the smaller landowners. But for the presence and willing assistance of unemployed members of the local bar it would often be impossible to impanel a jury at all. Legal practitioners have since 1897 been included in the list of those exempted. The reason for this inclusion is said to be that they are too apt to set up their own view of the case in opposition to that of the judge. "All that is required of a jurymen is sufficient intelligence and education to appreciate and form an opinion on facts, and the less of a legal specialist he is the better."\* This view is not in my experience and that of others borne out in practice. They are most useful

\* Extract from a letter, dated September 30, 1896, from the Government of Bengal to the Government of India.



members of the jury, and are very often the only occupants of the box who possess "sufficient intelligence and education" to judge of the value of the evidence at all. They are, as a rule, free from prejudice, and conscientious. I have known few instances where they are indisposed to accept the view of the law laid down by the judge.

The Code of 1882 also provided for a special list of jurors "possessing superior qualifications in respect of property, character, and education" for the trial of certain offences. Up to the time I left India (1895) this provision was in abeyance in most of the jury districts of Bengal, for the simple reason that the ordinary list was not sufficiently large to allow of a *corps d'élite* being selected from it. I may mention, for instance, that so recently as 1896 there were only 372 names on the list in the district of Nadiya in Bengal, and 294 in Murshidabad, of whom about one moiety live in remote parts of the district and are not generally available. After so much adverse criticism, it is, however, gratifying to express the opinion that this provision, where it can be carried out, is undoubtedly an excellent one. I find that in 1896 there were 526 jurors available in Dacca, 1,084 in Hooghly, and 1,426 in the Twenty-four Pergunnas. These figures show that in the towns mentioned a special list could readily be prepared and utilized for all heinous offences or cases of exceptional importance. Under the law the power of summoning a special jury for any particular trial now rests with the Sessions Judge.

I now come to the question of the fitness of juries for trying special classes of crime. There is practically a consensus of opinion from all the Provinces that juries are for various reasons inadequate to deal with culpable homicide. There is an incurable bias in the attitude of nearly all jurymen when impanelled to try an offence punishable with death. They approach the subject with hopelessly prejudiced minds. The morbid dread of responsibility in murder cases, and the repugnance to being even indirectly associated with a capital sentence, are instinctively felt by all classes of the community. These deeply-rooted feelings

dominate their intelligence in the jury-box. Their mental efforts are too often directed, not towards the legitimate inferences to be drawn from the facts in evidence, but to an endeavour to discover some slight contradiction, some loophole in the chain of testimony, some sophism or fallacy suggested in the speech for the defence, by which they can avoid being concerned in the infliction of death upon a fellow-creature. Among many classes this mental attitude is associated with deep religious conviction. Among the Shrāvaks of Bombay it is accounted a crime to cause the death of a human being, or even an animal, under any circumstances. The same principle applies with still greater force to the Jains. There is a class in Bengal called Oswáls, a well-educated and intelligent caste of money-lenders and merchants from Central India, whose antipathy on religious grounds to the imposition of a capital sentence is so thoroughly recognised that when their names happen to be drawn by ballot for the trial of a murder case they are, with the full assent of the pleader for the defence, challenged as a matter of course by the public prosecutor. The superstitious horror of being concerned in a capital sentence is reflected, though somewhat less strongly, among the whole of the followers of Vishnu, and, I may add, in nearly all phases of Hindu rural society, especially when the accused person is a Brahmin. The strain on the conscience is stretched to breaking-point, and it is not surprising that discrepancies trifling in themselves, when weighed with the mass of evidence in the case, are too often made the pretext for acquittal. Then, again, large numbers of the people are not in sympathy with our system of criminal law and punishment, and their sentimental standpoint as regards heinous crime is widely different from ours. They display none of that abhorrence of murder which instinctively among Western people produces a keen desire for the punishment of the crime. Lynch law as an ebullition of popular indignation is unknown, and I have never even heard of a hostile demonstration on the part of the public against a criminal under arrest. On

the contrary, there is frequently a fatalistic feeling that as one victim has unfortunately died his loss is irrevocable, and it would be only wanton and useless cruelty to take the life of the murderer. The secrets of the jury-box are occasionally disclosed, with startling results. I have been told by pleaders in several districts of Bengal who have served as foremen of juries in such cases, that their less enlightened fellows have entreated them to come to some plausible conclusion, no matter what, so long as the life of the prisoner could be saved. The law differentiates between culpable homicide amounting to murder and culpable homicide not amounting to murder, and the annals of crime in India abound with cases in which murderers have been improperly acquitted of the graver offence, and, instead of expiating their crime on the scaffold, have escaped with a sentence of imprisonment. Sometimes the verdict displays unconscious humour, as when a man who has killed his wife from motives of jealousy is convicted of causing death "by a rash and negligent act." Among Mohammedans there is a hereditary objection to some of the principles of our system of evidence, as, for instance, the joint liability for crime and the legality of a conviction on circumstantial evidence only. A strong disinclination to accept anything but the testimony of eye-witnesses is common to all classes. There appears to be some mental incapacity to grasp the inferences arising from the evidence of circumstances. As the law stands, a judge can only guess at motives such as these for verdicts that appear inexplicable.

The following cases drawn from my own experience illustrate the foregoing observations. A Brahmin Sepoy in one of the Bengal native infantry regiments quartered at Dinapore (Patna) ran "amuck," shot several of his comrades, barricaded himself in a hut in the centre of the lines with his rifle and several rounds of ammunition, and threatened death to anyone who approached. He was captured by an English officer, who crept into the hut

from the back. The murders had been committed in the presence of half the regiment, and many eye-witnesses were examined. No defence was set up, but on a simple plea of "not guilty" the jury acquitted him. I am glad to record that on this occasion the verdict was received by the public with something like indignation. At another trial in the same district a murderer was acquitted in defiance of similarly overwhelming evidence. It afterwards became known that the jury justified their acquittal by the accident that the trial took place in the Indian month of Bysakh (April-May), in which, according to Hindu tradition, none but deeds of mercy ought to be performed. In a third case, in which the prisoner was undoubtedly proved to be guilty, the jury acquitted him, because a child of ten years old, whose evidence was relevant only on a collateral point, accounted for his presence on the spot by saying that he was flying a kite. The murder was committed in the hot weather, and kite-flying is, it appears, usually practised in the winter months. The jury caught at this straw in order to find a pretext for disbelieving the rest of the evidence, much of it of an unquestionable character.

But if there is an unwillingness to convict in murder cases, the very opposite tendency is shown in the trials of habitual offenders who are committed to the Sessions for theft, robbery, or housebreaking by night. The provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, enacted with the laudable intention of concealing from the jury that the accused is an old offender, are utterly futile. They know perfectly well that thieves and housebreakers are not committed to the Sessions for a first offence. The jury probably contains a majority of shopkeepers, who live in nightly dread of this very class of criminal. I am convinced that in many cases, especially when the individual prisoner is notorious, his conviction is a foregone conclusion. This view is strongly borne out by some statistics I have selected from the records of the Madras Presidency, which illustrate at the same time the difficulty felt in securing respectable jurors in some of the

districts of that Province. In the year 1896, out of fifty-two references of dissent from the verdict, in no less than ten instances verdicts of "guilty" were set aside by the High Court. Similarly, in 1899 eight cases of unjust convictions were reversed. In South Arcot and Trichinopoly it is reported, "The jury are too prone to convict on scanty evidence in cases of offences against property." In Karnul, in 1899, "The juries were mainly comprised of Komátis and Kamsálas, many of the former and most of the latter being receivers, and nearly all easy to bribe and intimidate." Similar views are expressed as regards Tinneveli, where "there is a tendency to accept rather slender evidence against Marávvers in dacoity cases." These are the opinions, not of magistrates, but of Sessions Judges, undoubtedly the most competent and unbiassed authorities. I have, with one exception, refrained throughout this article from quoting the views of the executive branch of the service, whose zeal for the success of prosecutions weakens the value of their evidence.

In Bengal, too, it is noticeable that in cases of dacoity, or gang robbery, accompanied by violence, a number of prisoners placed in the dock together often include one or more old convicts, innocent of the particular crime under trial, but adroitly introduced by the police in order to get rid of the entire gang. These men are too often convicted by a jury on the strength of very slight evidence of identification during the transaction in question. Criminals of this class, especially when poor and friendless, get a short shrift from a native jury.

But unlike Madras and Bengal, where the habitual criminal enters the dock with the halter, so to speak, round his neck, his fellow in the United Provinces appears to bear a charmed life. He can ply his nefarious trade with a security that, from his point of view, leaves nothing to be desired. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting for once the views on this subject of an executive official on special duty with the Police Reorganization Committee. He

writes in 1890 : "Deputy magistrates would sooner sentence habituals themselves than send them before a jury to be acquitted. I have often had this said to me. . . . I would state that of the twenty-two cases in which the judge has recorded his dissent, nineteen are cases of habituals. One of the points brought most prominently forward . . . is the reluctance of respectable native witnesses to give evidence against known bad characters. If" (he plaintively inquires) "—and on this point there is not a dissentient voice—respectable natives decline to give evidence against known bad characters, how can one expect respectable natives on juries to convict them unless absolutely obliged to do so?" These wholesale acquittals are, I am told, due to the timidity of the shopkeeping classes whose lives and property would be in imminent peril at the hands of the comrades of a bad character convicted by them. I may add that Sir John Edge, then Chief Justice of Allahabad, and now a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, makes the following trenchant observation in a minute of the same year : "In my opinion the jury system is not suited as a means for the repression of crime. The only improvement I can suggest is that trial by jury be abolished in these provinces."

These facts and considerations appear to furnish a complete answer to the upholders of the system who rely on the often quoted but fallacious maxim "it is better that 100 guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should suffer"—a dilemma which, I may observe in passing, Bentham long ago pointed out does not exist. It is idle, in the face of the Madras statistics, to contend, as has frequently been done, that the opposition to trial by jury emanates mainly from the executive authorities, who are dissatisfied with the percentage of convictions in the Sessions Courts. They also forcibly illustrate the grotesque inequalities of the system when regarded as an agency for the punishment of crime. The administration of justice is reduced to a farce when we find that the fate of a criminal

depends not upon the evidence, but upon the locality where he is tried.

The main argument of the advocates of the system has always been that, while the native community has more confidence in a mode of trial which enlists the co-operation of their own countrymen in criminal administration, and quickens them to a due sense of their civic responsibilities, the provisions for reference to the High Court of indefensible verdicts are adequate to prevent miscarriages of justice. This argument can be brought to an authoritative test, and it will be hereafter seen that it is erroneous. I am well aware that mathematical certainty cannot be expected in the domain of criminology. But a reasonable certainty can be attained from a careful examination of statistics in the aggregate. What, then, is meant by a "miscarriage of justice"? For the purposes of the present essay I take it to mean the natural consequences of an accepted verdict which can with reasonable certainty be shown to be wrong. There is, of course, no infallible test of the correctness of a Sessions Judge's decisions. The only test we can apply is the percentage of successful appeals from his decisions to the High Courts when an appeal is allowed on the facts. I take the following statistics from an article published by me on "Trial by Jury in Bengal" in 1888, which contains a more elaborate examination of the subject than is possible in the present paper, and which was discussed and quoted during the great controversy of 1892.\* The figures I give are for the years 1882 to 1885 for the province of Bengal, but I may explain that I have examined the statistics of most of the subsequent years and they present nearly the same ratios.

\* The statistics relating to Bengal for the latest years available may be shown for purposes of comparison. The proportion of cases in which the judge differed from the jury is apparently somewhat more favourable to juries than in the years I have selected. Still, although the proportion of the verdicts disapproved which the judges thought it necessary to refer to the High Court is rather larger than the average of one-half which I have estimated for all the Provinces, the proportion of cases so referred

They show the result of appeals to be as follows :

			1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
Affirmed	...	...	543	509	585	690
Reversed	...	...	45	40	51	64

The decisions were therefore reversed in about 8 per cent. of the cases. This gives with reasonable certainty the index of error in a judge's decisions.

I give for the same years the number of jury trials held and the number of cases in which the judge disapproved of the verdict wholly or partially :

			1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
Number of trials	...		370	344	346	348
Number of verdicts disapproved by judge			62	52	69	66

Thus, in 1,408 jury trials held in the four years the judges differed in 249 cases, amounting to about  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the total. Most of these cases were verdicts of acquittal in respect of heinous crimes. A conviction would therefore have taken place had these trials been held by a judge sitting alone. What proportion of these convictions would in the case supposed have been upheld by the High Court, and might thus, according to the only standard we possess, be deemed with reasonable certainty to be correct ? Clearly, if the ratio of the results of appeals on the facts be considered the criterion, the dissent of the judges would be justified in about 92 per cent. of the cases. The percentage

in which the High Court actually interfered is somewhat smaller. My argument as to the insufficiency of the provision for reference is therefore strengthened by these figures :

		Number of Persons tried by Jury.	Cases in which Verdict was approved.	Cases in which Ver- dict was dis- approved.	Cases in which Verdict was referred.	Cases in which Verdict was set aside.
1898	...	1,161	1,048	113	67	31
1899	...	984	877	107	62	31
1900	...	1,187	1,068	122	70	36



would in reality be greater, for the judges selected for jury districts are, as is constantly insisted upon by Government, the best trained and most experienced judicial officers in the service.

Some 230 out of 249 heinous crimes would therefore during these four years, but for the provision referred to, have gone wholly unpunished. What, then, is the practical outcome of the provisions for reference? It will first be remembered that the law does not admit of a reference to the High Court in every case in which the judge would have arrived at a different conclusion from that of the jury. The dissent must be absolute and complete, and for this reason in fully one-half of the cases in which a judge dissents no reference is or can be made. In the second place such references are frequently unsuccessful. The principle hitherto usually adopted has been to support the verdict whenever possible, and not to disturb it unless the High Court arrive, on the materials before them, at as decisive a condemnation of the verdict as that of the referring judge.

In the year 1892 I collected and analyzed for the use of the Government of Bengal the whole of the results of references quoted in the Law Reports since the Code of 1872 came into operation. In about half the cases cited, the judges took what may be described as a restricted view of their powers of disturbing a verdict, and refrained from doing so unless the decisions were manifestly perverse. In the other moiety they considered themselves, roughly speaking, entitled to set aside a verdict if it were against the weight of evidence. Statistics show that the chances of a verdict being set aside or upheld are about equal. The great diversity in the results of references to the High Court in different years and in different Provinces clearly shows that the provisions are uncertain and precarious in their effect. The fate of verdicts mainly depends on the idiosyncrasies of the particular Bench trying the case. So disappointing is the result of references in some Provinces,

where the Criminal Bench happens to be composed of judges trained to respect the sanctity of a verdict, that the reference clauses have fallen into comparative desuetude. To return, then, for a moment to the 230 cases in which in the four years quoted a failure of justice has occurred, these calculations indicate that the verdict would ultimately have been set aside in about fifty-six, leaving a residuum of more than 170 serious miscarriages of justice in four years in the province of Bengal alone. Well may the figure of Justice be depicted blindfold when she scatters so lavish a tribute in homage to Sentiment !

These facts present with reasonable accuracy the test by which the inefficiency of the jury system for the conviction and punishment of crime may be gauged. This test is the percentage of difference between the number of cases in which the judge dissents from the verdict, with an 8 per cent. deduction for error, and the number of such cases which are successfully referred.

To illustrate further my estimate of the proportion of verdicts set aside in the most heinous classes of crime, I may mention that in the five years 1887 to 1891, 698 cases were tried by jury in the Province of Bengal for offences against the public tranquillity, against the person, and relating to documents. Of these, the judge dissented in 97 and referred 62, and in 34 of these the verdict was modified or set aside. Out of the 698 cases so tried, 203 were murder cases, and the judge differed in 27, 25 of which were from a verdict of acquittal. Of these, 22 were referred and 13 set aside. These figures and considerations largely influenced the action taken by the Government of Bengal in 1892.

As a final illustration drawn from my own experience, the facts of a notorious and sensational trial, known as the Beliáti murder case, which took place at Dacca in 1888, deserve to be recounted in some detail. A dispute of long standing existed between two brothers, both rich and powerful landholders, with reference to the position of the boundary-line between the two portions of the large family dwelling-

house in which they both resided. All who are acquainted with the joint family system of Hindus will recollect similar instances, where a feud as deadly as that between the Montagues and Capulets has subsisted for generations between members of the same family, though relentless custom decreed that they should live in the closest contiguity. On the day in question the head of one of the two factions had engaged some surveyors and masons to measure a portion of the disputed area, when a riot ensued, in which one of the servants of the party which ordered the survey was fired upon and killed. The head of the opposite faction and several of his servants, upcountry clubmen, were charged with riot and murder. Both parties retained barristers from Calcutta, and the most eminent members of the local bar were arrayed on one side or the other. The case was one of peculiar difficulty, for it had been complicated from the very beginning by the corrupt action of the police, four of whom, including the investigating officer, were afterwards dismissed from the service. It was satisfactorily established that one of the brothers gave the order to fire, but the first information given to the police, as produced in court, contained no mention of any order whatever. The original informant had been compelled by threats to sign an information from which many important particulars, afterwards put in evidence, had been corruptly suppressed. There was, however, sufficient trustworthy evidence upon which to convict one or two of the principal accused, and a strong judge sitting with assessors would have been able to sift from the case those ingredients which had been purposely introduced to create confusion and to wreck the case from the commencement. As it was, the jury acquitted the prisoners and the verdict was accepted, because a reference to the High Court would have been obviously hopeless. That tribunal could not possibly have disturbed the verdict, as they would have found the contradictions between the first information report and the evidence so irreconcilable without the

advantage of having the witnesses before them that they would undoubtedly have declined to interfere. A better illustration could not be found of the futility of the provisions for reference in cases of this kind. But I have introduced this case mainly for another purpose. The dramatic and sensational sequelæ of the trial have still to be narrated, and they will fully bear out what I said in an earlier page, that corruption of the most shameless kind can be successfully practised in trials by jury in India.

The circumstances in evidence were numerous and complicated, and the charge to the jury occupied some three hours in delivery. The jurors were eminently respectable and intelligent. They consisted of two pleaders of the Judge's Court, an Ex-Munsiff or Civil Judge of First Instance, a pensioned Government servant, and a clerk in the Department of Public Works. Before they retired a question was put to them, at the request of the parties, as to how long their deliberations were likely to last. To the surprise of everyone not behind the scenes, the second jurymen informed the Court, without any hesitation, that he and three of his fellows had already decided to acquit all the prisoners of every one of the charges, but that the foreman had not made up his mind. This abrupt announcement was, on the face of it, suspicious, as the jury were bound to consider the evidence, as presented in the charge, for a reasonable time. The jury retired, and after a brief interval returned a verdict, by a majority of four to one, of "not guilty" on all the charges. This verdict was, for reasons already explained, accepted, and the prisoners released.

The excitement in the town was intense. Rumours became prevalent that large bribes had been offered to and accepted by all the jurymen. The particulars soon assumed a definite form. The local newspapers gave precise details of the sums said to have been actually paid. Several influential Mohammedan gentlemen called upon me and assured me that the rumours were perfectly true, and that

wholesale bribery had taken place. It was clearly my duty to make a preliminary official inquiry, and as it was alleged that the foreman was anxious to make a statement, his presence was, after long delay and with great difficulty, procured. This gentleman, a pleader of the Dacca bar, was at the same time an orthodox Hindu of priestly rank and occupation. He confessed that a sum of money had been offered to and accepted by himself, and he also implicated all the other jurymen. The others, he asserted, had retained their bribes, but a day or two before the delivery of the verdict he had been seized with a paroxysm of remorse and had returned the money, not to the donor, but into the custody of certain members of the Dacca bar unconnected with the case. From similar motives he had refused to concur in the verdict of "not guilty" returned by his co-adjutors. A prosecution was ultimately instituted, and the authors of the crime were tried in the High Court. The audacity and quasi-publicity which attended this outrage upon justice is, I should imagine, almost without precedent in the modern annals of crime.

In the conclusion of the historical survey, this paper reaches at the same time its dramatic climax in the courageous though unsuccessful effort made in 1892 to lessen the ill effects of the system by curtailing the scope of its operations. In the summer of 1890 the Government of India had issued a circular to all Local Governments stating that it had been brought to their notice that in the opinion of several authorities the system had favoured the escape of criminals, and calling for a report as to how it had worked, what opinion was entertained as to its merits as a means for the repression of crime, and what improvements were called for in its machinery. The replies of the various Governments were received in 1891. One or two regarded it not unfavourably; and one especially, the Government of Bombay, laid great stress on its political advantages, but the majority were hostile. The Government of Bengal, with which I am now concerned, in summarizing the materials in their hands,

observed that it would scarcely be possible to obtain opinions from a large number of men more nearly approaching unanimity than was the condemnation of the system contained in the minutes and reports they had received. "If the result had been foreseen, no advocate would have been found for its introduction into India. But as it has been introduced, and is prized as a rudimentary beginning of giving power to the people, Sir Charles Elliott deems it unadvisable, on political grounds, that it should be abolished altogether." The Lieutenant-Governor then made certain suggestions for the alteration of the law, which have been considered in the course of this article, and proposed to withdraw homicide cases from juries, and to adopt, in the main, the classification of offences so triable which was in force in the United Provinces. He added that though aware of the power of withdrawal vested in Local Governments, yet as the Government of India had referred the question for his opinion, he deemed it better not to act on his own authority. On this latter point the Government of India agreed that the classes of offences specified by the Bengal Government, and especially homicide cases, ought to be withdrawn from the cognizance of juries, and suggested that the Lieutenant-Governor should himself take action under the powers vested in him by the Code. The result of this correspondence was the issue of a Notification, dated October 20, 1892, excluding from the cognizance of the jury in the districts of Bengal where the system was in force all offences against the public tranquillity, all offences affecting the human body (with the exception of offences against women), and offences relating to documents. At the same time, the Notification directed trial by jury for offences relating to marriage. The correspondence above summarized shows that this drastic step was taken not only with the formal sanction, but after anxious deliberation, with the full approval of the Government of India; and, unless I have entirely failed in my purpose, many will agree that the facts and considerations above presented justified,

in the interests of the people at large, the principle of limitation adopted by the Government. But though the principle was unassailable, the means actually adopted were unfortunate, and many of those who sympathized fully with the former felt grave misgivings as to the wisdom of the course pursued. As it turned out, the Government of India and that of Sir Charles Elliott had alike miscalculated the effect on native public opinion of the issue of this formidable Notification. The complete withdrawal of a form of trial for so many grave offences, and especially for homicide, which had been in force for thirty years came as a shock to that section of the educated community in Calcutta and other large centres of population who control and direct the public press, and through it all the intelligent members of the public. Had the great reform contemplated by Sir Charles Elliott been effected gradually and piecemeal, it is probable no agitation would have been aroused. The withdrawal, for instance, from Patna juries of cases of homicide might well have been carried out after the scandalous acquittal of the Brahmin Sepoy referred to above without exciting hostile comment. Similarly, the abolition of trial by jury in the Dacca district for the offence of rioting with murder immediately after the Beliáti case might have been acquiesced in without a murmur. These cases occurred, however, before Sir Charles Elliott's régime. But the measure adopted was from the first doomed to failure. No such outburst of hostile criticism on any individual official act, with the possible exception of the Age of Consent Bill, has emanated from the entire native press within living memory. Waves of angry clamour swept over the country, and the whole armoury of violent abuse was ransacked to supply weapons of attack upon the Lieutenant-Governor, his Chief Secretary, and all supposed to be implicated in the obnoxious Notification. From the intensity of the feelings apparently roused, it might have been supposed that one of the most revered principles of

Hindu domestic religion had been assailed. By a curious irony of fate the English press, with the exception of the *Pioneer*, the *Englishman*, and the *Madras Mail*, in whose various columns ineffectual efforts were made to meet and reply to the storm of invective, ranged themselves among the opponents of the measure. That the Notification would be unpopular with the bar was only to be expected, but the attitude of the English press was mainly attributable, as I afterwards learned from an unimpeachable source, to the entirely groundless fear that the step taken might prove the precursor to the curtailment of the privileges of European British subjects in trials by jury before the various High Courts. The storm of bitter denunciation even invaded the shores of England, and the echoes of the agitation were reflected in the English press. The artificial, partial, and complicated system of India was naturally unknown to the English public, and only the broad issue of a serious infringement of a popular privilege was grasped. That the agitation was to some extent a genuine one cannot be questioned, but there can be little doubt that the grievance, if actually felt by the public at large, was magnified by unscrupulous methods. The public excitement was fomented and fanned into a flame by a coterie of journalists and others in Calcutta with whom Sir Charles Elliott's administration was for other reasons unpopular. Public meetings were rapidly organized by some of the leaders of native society, and elaborate memorials against the Notification were prepared and despatched through official channels to the Secretary of State in Council. Instead of treating it as a matter of domestic administration, the memorialists endeavoured to give a political complexion to the action of the Government. The jury system was thus described in the memorial: "It has all along been looked upon as a safeguard of the liberty of the subject, and has enlisted the sympathy and commanded the respect and confidence of the community. They have seen in the system a shield between the rights and privileges of individuals and defects



in the judicial system, caused on the one hand by judges being drawn from an executive service, and on the other from the oppression of an ignorant and too often venal police." The memorialists further suggest that the introduction of the system is based on an ancient institution in India known as the "punchayet," by which a council of five elders has been from prehistoric times accustomed to settle village disputes. The covert attack upon the character of the judicial bench can only be excused, if at all, by the heat of the moment; the memorialists never doubted for one moment the complete integrity of the judges. Most of the statements in the memorials have been successfully traversed; it is hoped that it is now unnecessary.\*

The Governments of India and Bengal had to bow before the storm. In forwarding the memorials to the Secretary of State (the late Lord Kimberley), the Government of India quoted with approval a suggestion from Sir Charles Elliott that he desired "as far as possible to reconsider the question from the new light thrown upon it by the fact that the distress and dissatisfaction caused by the partial removal of what is valued as an important privilege had been so great and so much beyond expectation," and to adopt the proposal that a Commission might be appointed to consider the possibility of devising a "scheme which would be generally acceptable, and yet would safeguard the Government from a recurrence of the scandalous verdicts and previous failures of justice to which attention has been drawn."

Some time before this despatch was sent it had been known that the Government at home were disquieted and perhaps

\* A word may be said as to the alleged prototype of the jury system, the Indian "punchayet." This argument is an entire fallacy. The hereditary custom of the "punchayet" is to deal with caste and social questions, and it has no concern with the rules of evidence. When the "punchayet" meets the facts are usually undisputed, and all it has to do is to record a decision and pass sentence. In fact, except for the accidental identity in number, there is no similarity whatever between the two tribunals.

even alarmed at the agitation. Some of the communications which passed between the Secretary of State in Council and the Governor-General have not been published, but from the terms of the despatch of Lord Kimberley acknowledging and accepting the recommendation for the appointment of the Commission it can readily be seen that the proceedings in connection with the Notification were viewed with dissatisfaction. He observes: "In view of the very great importance which is rightly attached to trial by jury both in this country and in India, and of the extreme jealousy with which any modifications of the system are naturally regarded, I should have been glad if an opportunity had been afforded me of expressing my opinion before any final step was taken." It may be observed, however, that the Code nowhere directs that the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council is to be sought for or obtained before any alteration in the jury classification is notified by Local Governments. The Governor-General in Council might well have thought it unwise gratuitously to invite the interference of the India Office with matters of purely domestic and local concern, which the law empowered the Governments of each Province to regulate without the sanction of any other Authority. Nor is it easy to understand what is meant in the despatch by the expression "final step." The elasticity of the provision and the fact that no order passed under it need necessarily be "final" is in reality its main feature. The despatch goes on to state: "The conclusion to which I have come is that, while the statistics and opinions forwarded to me indicate the existence of defects and difficulties in the working of the jury system in Bengal, they are not such as to justify the measure announced in the Notification."

The Jury Commission was accordingly constituted, with Mr. Justice Prinsep as president. His four colleagues were selected, as was only right, from among those who were not committed to views hostile to the system, and included a native judge of the High Court. The Commission was

hardly likely, after the exceedingly plain expression of opinion above quoted from Lord Kimberley's despatch, to propose any heroic measure of reform. It was, in fact, an open secret that the purpose of the appointment of the Commission was to provide, so to speak, a bridge across which the Government forces could retire, if not with all the honours of war, at any rate without loss of dignity. It was expected that the Notification would be, if not withdrawn altogether, at any rate considerably modified ; but it is at the same time to be regretted that the practical outcome of their deliberations was so exceedingly small, and that the Commission did not make fuller use of an unique opportunity. For the first time in the history of India an authority was constituted for the review of the entire system. Ample materials were in their hands. They had at their disposal all the criticism of past years, at least three-fourths of it hostile to the system as it then stood, emanating from the ablest and most experienced judicial, executive, and legal authorities. Something tangible in the way of proposed amendments of the Code might have been expected. But what was the outcome of their discussions ? They produced an interesting digest of the history of trial by jury in Bengal, and ended by recommending that the classification of offences so triable should remain precisely as before. They declined to adopt the proposal for the extension of the system to offences concerning marriage. They even refused to advise that the law should make it incumbent on a Sessions Judge to refer every case in which he dissented from the verdict to the High Court, although this very recommendation was made in a minute recorded by Mr. Justice Prinsep, in which three other judges of the High Court concurred, so recently as December, 1890, and submitted to the Bengal Government. The only legislative change they proposed was a trifling alteration in the text of the section of the Code dealing with reference to the High Court. They suggested that the words "and is clearly of opinion

that it is" should be substituted for the words "so completely that he considers it," and that the last paragraph of the section should run: "The High Court shall consider the entire evidence, giving due weight to the verdict of the jury, and to the opinion of the Sessions Judge and of the dissentient jurors, if any." The first of these recommendations was entirely, and the second partially, adopted in the Code of 1898. The mountains have often been in labour with inadequate results, but seldom has the mouse ultimately produced been of such extraordinarily minute proportions.

The eagerness with which the report was awaited, in order that the Government might withdraw from a position distasteful to the authorities at home, no doubt accounts for some indications of haste in its composition. For instance, the Commission observe: "No case has been brought to our notice in which an erroneous verdict can be attributed to undue deference to the social position of the accused person." This, I presume, can only refer to the reported cases—a very insignificant proportion, I need hardly say, of the whole. The papers at the service of the Commission abound with illustrations of the difficulty of obtaining a verdict of guilty against wealthy criminals. It is strange, too, that the scandals connected with the Beliāti murder case were so soon forgotten.

I greatly regret that the Commission decided not to recommend that the terms of the section dealing with the delivery of the verdict should be so altered as to enable a Sessions Judge to obtain more clearly the opinions of the jury on the evidence, so as to place on record the ground on which the verdict is based. The Commission observe: "It must very frequently happen that the jurors may individually arrive at the same conclusion by different processes of reasoning, or they may find difficulty in expressing intelligently or logically a conclusion fairly arrived at on consideration of the whole case." Had this sentence been introductory to a recommendation for withdrawing difficult cases from the cognizance of the jury, I could understand

it; but I cannot appreciate it as a satisfactory ground for retaining the exclusion of one of the few possible safeguards against perversity or ignorance. If jurors are unable or unwilling to give an intelligent reason for their verdict, how is a Sessions Judge or a Bench of the High Court to say whether "it has been fairly arrived at on consideration of the whole case"? So long as the right of interference with a verdict exists, surely the reasons which guide a jury to a certain conclusion are the most important elements for the Sessions Judge to consider in deciding whether the verdict is based on the evidence or not. If such reasons are manifestly unsound, if they betray gross misconception of fact, if they indicate racial or religious prejudice, is it not right that a bias which leads to a distorted view of the case should be disclosed? How can a judge be "clearly of opinion" that he ought to refer a verdict from which he dissents without knowing whether the jury has exercised a rational discretion in dealing with the evidence submitted to them? Even in England, when a case is referred by the presiding judge to the Court for the consideration of Crown Cases Reserved, he can ask the jury for their specific finding on certain facts in order to guide him in his reference. Singularly enough, the experienced judge who presided over the Commission observed in a reported case\* that the law as it then actually stood did not debar a Sessions Judge from asking the jury on what grounds they based their verdict. The view that a judge should at least have the power of requiring a special verdict on particular issues of fact has the high authority in its favour of the late Justice Matasvámi Aiyar, of the Madras High Court. The opinion of an Indian High Court Judge on a question of this kind carries great weight.

Finally, I cannot think that the reasons given by the Jury Commission for the exclusion of offences relating to marriage are very convincing. They observe: "... In

\* I. C. L. R., 275.

consequence of the diversity of religious and social habits and caste customs, this object" [of leaving to juries the determination of cases in which their social or religious customs may be involved] "will not be attained so well as in a trial with assessors. The jurors are selected by lot, and it may so happen that by this process none of the very religion or class which should be associated for the trial may be selected, whereas the Sessions Judge is able to choose assessors of the same caste or religion." This, I venture to think, is to confuse the functions of a jury with those of expert witnesses. By parity of reasoning, it might be argued that a Brahmin accused should be tried by a jury consisting only of Brahmins. If for example the existence or definition of a custom peculiar to a Hindu aboriginal sect were a fact in issue, I submit that the best means of arriving at the truth would not be to impanel a jury of this particular sect, even if the law allowed such a course, but to call witnesses from that sect who were familiar with the custom. On the other hand, too much stress cannot be laid on the general fitness of a native jury of average intelligence to adjudicate on questions relating to marriage, the most difficult and unsatisfactory of all for a foreign judge to determine. All natives of India are far more familiar with the social and domestic customs of their own countrymen, even if of different race or religion, than is possible for an Englishman, however great his experience of India and her people, more especially in matters relating to wedlock and concubinage. Offences precisely analogous to those in question—kidnapping and abducting women and children for immoral purposes—are already cognizable by jury in Bengal, and, as I have stated above, offences relating to marriage have been actually triable by jury in the United Provinces since the year 1885. In the voluminous reports as to the working of the jury system in that Province I cannot find, after careful search, that any dissatisfaction has been expressed as to its results in this particular group of offences. If further proof of the haste

which characterized the proceedings of the Commission be necessary, it will surely be found in their omission, while condemning the proposed extension, of any reference to the fact that in one Province of India the trial of such offences by jury had been in existence, with apparently satisfactory results, for about seven years.

Among the lower classes in Bengal and Madras, especially the non-Aryan tribes, certain informal divorces are permitted and sanctioned by the caste rules of the sect. In others the ceremony of wedlock itself is accompanied by certain obscure rites, the omission of which invalidates marriage. On the rupture of such a tie and the formation of a fresh *liaison* by the woman with another member of the same caste, the question whether bigamy or adultery has been committed is one pre-eminently suited to a native jury. In one case within my recollection the question was whether a female minor had been let to hire for immoral purposes. There was no dispute as to the facts, but the decision as to the accused's guilt or innocence hinged upon the solution of an interesting point of usage among the Vaishnava sect as to the legality of a marriage cemented by the *Máláchandan*, or bestowal of a garland, a survival of the almost obsolete *Gandharva* marriage. These are the very matters for the decision of which by Hindus there is immemorial precedent.

In concluding this paper, I will summarize very briefly the recommendations which I have foreshadowed in the preceding pages for the improvement of the present system in the order of their importance.

1. I would add to the appropriate section of the Criminal Procedure Code a provision empowering a judge when he dissents from a verdict to ascertain in general terms the jury's reasons for that verdict.

2. Whenever a grave scandal involving a palpable miscarriage of justice has occurred in any district in the trial of any particular offence, I would suggest that the Local Government should invariably make use of its powers under

the Code of withdrawing the trial of such offence for a fixed period from the cognizance of the jury in that district. This would be following the analogy of the temporary disfranchisement in England of a corrupt borough.

3. I would make the trial by jury of offences relating to marriage practically universal throughout India.

4. The constant and careful revision of the jury list should be regarded as one of the most important duties of the Magistrate-Collector and Judge of each district where the system is in force, and no pains should be spared to secure as large a special jury list as possible, and to enlist the services of special jurymen for all classes of heinous crime.

Had the measures suggested in these recommendations been enforced from the commencement, it is my firm conviction that many of the scandals of the past might have been avoided ; and if now adopted, they will tend to palliate in the future the intrinsic evils of the system, and to render it more efficient for the punishment of crime.

So far I have written purely as a critic, whose task has led him to point out the defects of a system which he conscientiously believes to be unsuitable to the country. But I do not wish to take leave of the subject in the cold atmosphere of criticism. I wish to say that no one has more sympathy than myself with the legitimate aspirations of our Indian fellow-subjects to take part in every branch of administration, and that no one is more keenly alive to the political and moral desirability of associating the people of the country in gradually increasing numbers in every form of departmental government. I heartily welcome their co-operation in the various executive and judicial posts which they fill so well, and I warmly appreciate the value of their services in almost every public capacity—from the municipal office to the council chamber. Nor am I insensible of the advantages gained by enlisting a large number of the people in the administration of justice, and of endeavouring to popularize through the jury-box the working of our criminal



law. Holding these opinions, as I do very strongly, it is only from a deep conviction that the system is detrimental to the best and truest interests of the people that I have written this paper. In this one sphere the price to be paid is too high.

The fountain of justice is too pure to allow of the admixture of any doubtful ingredient. The system is, however, now an established and immutable portion of the criminal law. We can only hope that as the area of education increases and the influence of superstition diminishes, the wholesome sense of responsibility will ripen, and that in process of time the blemishes and failures which have played so large a part in the controversies of the past thirty years will tend to disappear in a more enlightened age.

## ON THE FAILURE OF LORD CURZON.\*

BY A. ROGERS, LATE BOMBAY C.S.

THERE can be little doubt as to the authorship of this letter. The opinions expressed in it are palpably those of a disappointed man, who takes advantage of the anonymity of the press to endeavour to conceal his identity. There can be no objection to an old Indian, who has seen things for himself, enlightening the British public as to the actual state of affairs in the country; on the contrary, every right-minded Englishman must rejoice at the opportunity of being duly informed of it. But the author is much mistaken if he thinks the common-sense of that public will not allow them to judge dispassionately between one-sided or distorted views of what is really a good and honest policy towards the people of India and what men of his own limited experience—acquired though it may have been by twenty-eight years' service in one province—may consider to be for their benefit in the present crude state of their political education, or what may be recommended by Radicals at home who have not mastered the alphabet of Indian administration. Whatever the ideas of the unenlightened public, however, may be, it is our duty to weigh all in an even balance, and to set it before the nation in a true light, without fear or favour. A man in the high and responsible position of Lord Curzon as Governor-General of India deserves in his administrative acts special consideration at our hands, in view of the general ignorance of Indian affairs in this country.

In the brochure referred to the author brings against Lord Curzon the weighty indictment that—

1. He has offended beyond forgiveness the educated classes of Indians.

\* "An Open Letter to the Earl of Rosebery," by "Twenty-eight Years in India." T. Fisher Unwin.

2. Though continually face to face with famine, he has refused to take the most experienced advice (that of the author of the book possibly included), while his policy is pushing the mass of the agricultural population lower and lower in the slough of misery and starvation.

3. Although most conciliatory in language, he has initiated a manner of dealing with native princes which must engender discontent.

It is as well, at all events, that he should be credited with one redeeming grace—viz., that while he hits his unfortunate victims, he does so good-naturedly and with a smiling face.

What we have to complain of in most modern criticisms of Indian administration is that the critics deceive their readers in a very great measure by the utterance of half-truths, by applying what may be to the point in a single province or territory to the whole of the vast continent embraced in India, inhabited by people of varying religions, manners, and customs, by those of warlike and by those of peaceful habits, by Kshatriyas, whose instincts are those of rulers, and by Brahmans, whose profession is to sway the moral consciousness of the people. Others, again, have resorted to the use of statistics of supposed averages of produce of land and equally varying returns of prices over thousands of markets, in themselves widely scattered and depending largely on foreign competition, and have deduced from these inferences that the population as a whole—or at all events the agriculturists—are hardly raised above starvation point even in favourable seasons, so that when the periodical rains fail they succumb altogether and die by the million. The result on ill-informed native opinion and the native press—always more disposed to believe evil than to admit good intentions—may be imagined when the editors of that press are, as a rule, ambitious, college-educated youths, for whom berths in Government offices have not been found, and who are consequently discontented. Almost every administrative act of Lord Curzon

is attributed to a spirit of what is indifferently termed Imperialism or Jingoism, a reproach which the present Viceroy certainly does not deserve, for if any Governor-General has acted cautiously in the main features of his administration it has been Lord Curzon. He has rarely acted without consulting Commissioners specially appointed to inquire into the actual state of matters and lay them before him in such a shape as to allow him to form his own judgment. The unhandsome gibes in which the author indulges with regard to Lord Curzon's youth, inexperience, and personal conceit accordingly fall harmlessly to the ground. Famine management, irrigation, education, police have all been inquired into by special Commissioners, and their advice has been, or will be, more or less acted on. More than this could not be expected from any Governor-General if he were not to sink into a brainless individual to be entirely guided by other men's opinions.

The author makes the most of a representation preferred to the Secretary of State for India by a certain number of retired Indian officers on the subject of the limitation of the proportion of the net produce of the soil to be levied by way of assessment on the land by assuming that that proportion—that is, the maximum—is ordinarily taken from the cultivator, and bases a number of arguments on the supposition that the equivalent of a 50 per cent. income tax (or, inclusive of local taxation, 55 per cent.) is invariably levied. That such is not the case, however, the Famine Commissioners have distinctly pointed out, even if the same fact were not well known to and affirmed by every Settlement Officer in India. The assumption is, in reality, so grossly unfair and misleading as to vitiate the whole of the arguments based on it. Were this not the case, even, how would Lord Curzon be to blame in a matter which had been settled in many cases half a century before he went out to the country?

What has been said above as to arguments based on half-truths is amply exemplified by the manner in which

such papers as the *Pioneer* (quoted with approval at pp. 24 and 25) have ignored the true facts of the case, and attributed to greed on the part of the Revenue Officers of Government increases of land revenue assessments that arose from entirely different causes. It is said at p. 21 that the Mahratta Sovereign (there were, by - the - by, several Mahratta Sovereigns—the Peishwa, Gaikwár, Sindia, Holkar, and many smaller potentates) had a revenue from land of 80 lakhs of rupees, which by the year 1823—that is, in six years—were nearly doubled.

The manner in which the collections were made in those early days is described as most oppressive, and rightly so; but (here is one of the half-truths) the author has not the honesty to mention that this resulted from the old Mahratta system of farming out the revenue being continued, until the officers of the British Government had gained sufficient experience to enable the authorities to introduce their own improved administration, in addition to large territorial expansion. Even when the former system was superseded it was so only tentatively and by degrees, as more experience was gained by our early Revenue Officers. This the author would have discovered if he had taken the trouble to study the old records of those days. The settlement attempted in 1825 was based on the same principles as those of the present day—that is, of dealing with individual *rayats*, not farmers of whole villages, as the text would lead anyone not acquainted with the facts to understand. It was in this settlement that a commencement was made of the only true method on which a satisfactory *rayatvâri* or individual settlement can be based—viz., the classification of the soil of each field, a herculean task which Mr. Pringle, of the Bombay C.S., can hardly be blamed for not at once carrying to perfection. In some parts—as in the Province of Gujarât—a rude system of classification into first, second, and third class soils was already in existence, but was eventually found to be insufficient in detail. In the Deccan, where the new system was first attempted, it can

be imagined that it was with the utmost difficulty, and after many abortive attempts, that any kind of order was obtained. Much of the work was badly done or scamped; large areas of land, really perfectly arable, were classified as unarable, and remained unassessed, and such confusion prevailed that the entire settlement was set aside, and the existing method of settlement substituted. This was the system developed in what was termed the Joint Report by the three Superintendents of Survey and Settlement, Messrs. Goldsmid, Wingate (afterwards Sir G. Wingate), and Davidson, and is still, with modifications to suit varying circumstances in different parts of the Presidency, in use. It was at this point that the Madras system began to differ from that of Bombay, as will be presently explained, the essential cause being that in the latter Mr. Pringle's plan, which was that of classification according to estimated produce of each field, was adopted; whereas in Madras the classification was based on the productive qualities of the several soils.

But to return to Bombay. At the resettlement begun in 1836 it was found that very large areas of the so-called unarable land had been brought under cultivation surreptitiously, and it was accordingly assessed. This was the real cause of the increase—a perfectly justifiable one—in assessments at the 1836 revision, of which so much use has been made in recent years by adverse critics of the Madras settlements in order to throw discredit on the administration. Some of these increased demands, although theoretically justifiable where individual *rayats* were concerned, were found to bear hardly upon the people, and a Resolution was issued by Sir P. Wodehouse's Government, some thirty years ago, that they should, under all circumstances, be limited to double in the case of individual holdings, to two-thirds in that of whole villages, and to one-third in the case of Talukahs or subdivisions of Collectorates. These are the increases which the *Pioneer*, quoted by the author, wrongly supposes (p. 23) to have been of universal application.

What is meant by the further assertion in the same journal that enhancements of 38 per cent. were imposed in the face of admitted depression, or 77 per cent. forced down the throats of the local officers, it is hard to understand ; nor is it true to say that the enhancements were framed on conjectural and merely arithmetical data, for they follow of themselves from a relative classification from the lowest rocky or sandy to the highest alluvial natural order of soils. The remarks by Sir G. Wingate were penned with regard to the old state of affairs which he was then engaged in reforming, and are quite inapplicable to things as they now are, although from the way in which the whole matter is jumbled together by the author one might well imagine that no reform had ever been attempted. It is no more than true, as the author himself acknowledges, that the language of the *Pioneer* is that of exaggeration. What but deliberate misgovernment could justify the use of such terms as these ?—

“ Stupidity, blindness, indifference, greed—inability, in a word, in all its thousand forms—settled down, like the fabled harpies, on the ryot's bread, and bore off with them all that he subsisted upon.” Now, let us see the truth. The history of the land revenue in Bombay, every figure in which is drawn from official sources, was published in 1892, and contains statistics with regard to the four principal Deccan Collectorates—viz., Poona, Ahmadnagar, Sholapur, and Sattara—which should be studied by all desirous of a true insight into the state of matters. The abortive method of settlement adopted by Mr. Pringle having been declared faulty, it was only from about the year 1840 that that established under the Joint Report was finally adopted, although a commencement had been made as early as 1837. All attempts at assuming a certain proportion of the actual produce of fields as that to be taken as revenue having been abandoned as utterly delusive, the great principle was laid down of fixing the assessment of land so low that, while it gave the State its fair dues, it should not encroach on the

just share of produce which the agricultural classes should receive. That this object had been fully attained is proved by the immediate extension of the cultivated area in two of the subdistricts settled under that principle, as shown by the following statement :

	Last Year of Old Settlement (Acres).	1840-1841 (Acres.)	1841-1842 (Acres).	Increased Area.	
Indápur ...	140,387	223,170	720,144	82,783	580,757
Bhimthadi ...	86,036	152,595	157,584	66,559	71,548

The rate of increase was too rapid to ensure thorough cultivation, and the assessment was consequently, in the first instance, guaranteed only for ten years, but this was subsequently extended to thirty. Other subdivisions were settled with equally satisfactory results. In the meanwhile, partly in consequence of the American War and partly from other causes, the value of agricultural produce had in many cases about doubled, and the rates of assessment in different localities had been raised so rapidly that it was considered necessary in 1874 to put upon them the limit noted above. The general result will be best exemplified by quoting the returns of the last of the subdivisions, re-settled in 1887, under the second revision. It consisted of 142 villages, arranged in four groups according to distance from market and climate. The total cultivated area and assessment under the previous settlement were 110,337 acres and Rs. 65,250, an average of 9 annas 5 pice inclusive of irrigated land, and under the new 118,167 acres and Rs. 85,627, an average of 11 annas 7 pice. The area unoccupied consisted of only 6,194 acres, assessed at Rs. 2,764, or slightly over half an anna per acre, proving it to consist of almost unarable land. The general rate of increase was only 31·2. This may be compared with the *Pioneer's* assertion of the increase of 77 per cent. forced down the throats of the local officers. It will be seen further on that the admittedly impoverished condition of the Bombay cultivators was ascribed by the Commissioners who inquired into the agricultural riots in 1875, wrongly put down by the



*Pioneer* to heaviness of assessments to land revenue, to entirely different causes.

We regret that we are obliged to concur in the strictures of that journal on the system of assessment adopted in the Madras Presidency. These strictures are based on actual statistics published by the Government of that Presidency within the last few years, and not, as in the case of Bombay, on reports by various officers made before the necessary reforms were introduced, and dating back to fifty or sixty years ago. At p. 28 the author quotes as follows from a letter to the Under Secretary of State by a late member of the Bombay Council in describing the result of the Madras Settlements :

“ In the eleven years from 1879-1880 to 1889-1890 there were sold by auction, for the collection of land revenue, the occupancy rights of 1,963,364 acres of land, held by 840,713 defaulters, in addition to personal property of the value of Rs. 29,65,081. Of the 1,963,364 acres, 1,174,173 had to be bought in on the part of Government for want of bidders ; that is to say, very nearly 60 per cent. of the land supposed to be fairly and equitably assessed could not find purchasers, and only the balance of 779,142 acres was sold. The evils of the Mahratta farming system (in Bombay) have been pointed out in my ‘ History of the Bombay Land Revenue,’ but I doubt if that system at its worst could have shown such a spectacle as that of nearly 850,000 ryots (heads of families) in the course of eleven years sold out of about 1,900,000 acres of land.”

This, it may be noted *en passant*, was written long before Lord Curzon went out to India, and was brought to the notice of the Secretary of State in order that a full inquiry might be made into the system of assessment in Madras. Year after year the same tale was repeated to Lord George Hamilton until the same critic was officially informed that his criticisms would no more be listened to, and at last, in the commencement of the present year, the Secretary of State put an end to further inquiry by replying in Parlia-

ment to Mr. Weir that the system would not be changed. It can be seen from the Blue Books annually published that the general result in the Presidency has been that there are still over 12,000,000 acres of arable land in Madras uncultivated. The farce of *laissez faire* could hardly go further. Most of this land would probably be brought under the plough if an equitable settlement were introduced and the existing one ruthlessly swept away, as was the case in Bombay with Mr. Pringle's, much to the benefit of the revenue; for in no part in that Presidency, with the exception of Sind, where it is being gradually taken up on the extension of canals drawn from the Indus, is there any waste arable land for the increase of cultivation to be found. The Madras system dates from the time of Sir Thomas Munro, and has nothing but its antiquity in its favour. It was the counterpart of Mr. Pringle's, and was invented in the days when the first attempts at land revenue reform were being hesitatingly made by our entirely inexperienced Revenue Officers in the earliest days of British rule. Its supersession would, of course, cost money, but it would amply repay the cost, not only by the spread of cultivation, but in the greater contentment of the people, for the evictions brought to notice by the author of the extract quoted above still continue to the number of 10,000 or 12,000 a year. The author of the letter under review endeavours to make a point in his charges against the administration by stating (p. 28) that Lord Ripon, when Governor-General in 1883, endeavoured to stop enhancements by laying down the principle that in districts which had once been surveyed and assessed by the Settlement Department assessments should undergo no further revision except on the sole ground of a rise in the prices of agricultural produce. As it happens, this is the rule now, and what Lord Ripon endeavoured to prevent was a reclassification of soils, and it was one of the wisest resolutions ever come to by the Secretary of State to veto Lord Ripon's crude ideas, for the mischief that has been done in Madras and the main cause of the unprecedentedly

large area of uncultivated land noted above have no doubt been the faulty system of classification of soils, which urgently needs a change—a change that can never be brought about as long as the utterly impracticable notion that it is possible to determine the relative values of thousands of square miles of land bearing an infinite variety of crops—cereal, leguminous, and otherwise—by the actual produce of fields, which varies with every situation and season, and the money value of which differs with every locality and market, is continued. “Twenty-eight Years’ Service” draws upon his own imagination when he says (p. 29), and prints in italics in order to emphasize what he says, that “not only were their farms (those of the 850,000 evicted *rayats*) brought to auction, but their poor personal belongings, their plough-cattle, and their cooking utensils, their beds, and everything but their scanty clothes, were sold to provide money for mostly Imperialist adventure”; for it is distinctly laid down by law that plough-cattle, and agricultural implements are not liable to seizure. Things are bad enough without resorting to exaggerations such as these. The problem of determining the relative productive values of soils by their visible constituents has been satisfactorily solved in Bombay. There is nothing to prevent its being done in Madras but the ill-informed fiat of the Secretary of State.

It would only weary our readers were we to enter into the remarks of the author with regard to settlements in the Central Provinces, Behar, etc. The state of the peasantry in Behar, as described by Sir Richard Temple, Sir Ashley Eden, and Sir Stuart Bailey, appears to be fully as bad as that of those of Bombay, which has been pronounced by two competent sets of Commissioners not to be due to over-assessment. Let us, then, see if there is not some other cause to which it can be traced. It was clearly proved by the report of the Commission that inquired into the Deccan agricultural riots of 1875 that those disturbances were caused by the merciless exactions of the money-lenders, against whom the acts of the peasants were directed, as

shown by the violence exerted against them alone and their property and records of debt. The money-lenders had been forced into action by the change in the law relating to the recovery of debts brought about by the passing in 1871, by the Supreme Legislative Council, of the Indian Limitation Act, by which the period during which claims for debt on current accounts—the usual record of cultivators' dealings with money-lenders—could be brought into Court was reduced from twelve years to three. They had dealt with their creditors under the former system for generations, and as the period of twelve years was renewed every time a fresh transaction—a constantly-recurring event—occurred between the parties, the state of indebtedness had become, as it were, hereditary, and creditor and debtor arranged their money matters to their mutual satisfaction. The shorter period of three years that had now become the legal limit was too short a time in which to come to an understanding with each other, and for their own protection the money-lenders took to exacting bonds, in many of which the *rayat's* lands were mortgaged, in order to gain more time within which to sue their debtors in the law courts. The mutual confidence theretofore existing between the parties was broken, and the agricultural riots mentioned were the result of the *rayats'* embittered feelings against their creditors, who fared very badly, while there was not a trace of animosity against the constituted revenue authorities. In consequence of the inquiries made by the Commission appointed to investigate the matter, a law called the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act was passed, and by this endeavours were made to arrange between the parties by means of conciliators. Some slight relief has thus been afforded in the Deccan Collectorates to which that law was applicable, but in the meanwhile the Limitation Law of 1871 has become operative throughout the country; the money-lenders have learnt to know their legal power over their debtors, and, assisted by the occurrence of several disastrous years of scarcity and downright famine in some localities, have made

use of it to enforce their demands by taking into their possession large quantities of the peasants' land that had been mortgaged to them. *Hinc illæ lacrimæ!* The Indian Legislature, desirous of applying principles suited to a civilized European community to India, has intensified and brought to light a state of affairs that was never contemplated, and the Government are put to their wits' end to devise a remedy. Hence the laws lately passed in the Panjáb and Bombay to endeavour to limit, if not put a stop to, the transfer of the *rayats'* landed property to money-lenders and others. Meant with the most benevolent purpose, this is stigmatized by the author as the most unwarrantable interference with the sacred rights of property. Agreeing with him in his opinion as to the inadvisability of the step as a general measure, we must still confess that, restricted as it has been in its operation to certain localities only, Lord Curzon was fully justified in trying the experiment at the instance of the local authorities. It is hoped that it will not be extended until experience may have proved the imperative necessity of the step in the interest of the people themselves. There is another method which will now be considered, and which Lord Curzon is actively engaged in carrying out, that promises to render more unnecessary in future the adoption of this heroic remedy. This is the establishment of Agricultural Banks to enable debtors to obtain loans at reasonable rates of interest, competing with the money-lenders in their own business, so that there may be some hope of the peasantry gradually recovering their lost position of independence. We much fear that in the case of the majority of debtors whose land has already been transferred to their creditors the relief will come too late, except in the case of occasional creditors who are foreigners, such as the Márvaris in Bombay, who have in reality no desire to undertake the responsibilities of landholders, and if constantly pressed to pay up revenue instalments may weary of doing so, and restore the lands to their original

proprietors. That this is really not an impossibility is shown by the fact that in the great majority of cases these Márváris have not insisted on having their own names entered in the revenue records as those of the owners, but allowed their debtors' still to stand there. As to the idea that the State should pay off encumbrances and give back the lands, the magnitude of such a transaction alone stamps it as absurd, but even this has been proposed in some quarters. The proposal to establish Agricultural Banks is a practical measure that is perfectly feasible, and has already been proved to be so under Mr. Nicholson in Madras, as well as in other places.\* There is no reason why such Banks should not succeed if the management is left in the hands of the people themselves with the least practicable interference on the part of the authorities, no greater interference than may be absolutely necessary in order that accounts may be properly kept and speculation and favouritism prevented. This is, however, not the proper place to enter into the details of the scheme, and we may rest satisfied that Lord Curzon has hit one nail at least on the head, and will do his best to drive it home.

We have acknowledged the impoverished condition of the *rayats* as a body, but that the cause of this does not lie in the assessments of land to the revenue is, we consider, proved by the testimony of two Commissions, as well as by the fact that the holders of Inám or alienated land, which pays nothing to the State, are just as badly off as ordinary tenants of Government assessed land.

The author proceeds to pile up the agony on Lord Curzon's devoted head under the title of "The Piling up of Tax on Tax: a Tragedy," in which the surpluses displayed under the late Indian Budgets are declared to be due only to recent currency policy and the protection of the value of silver coin from the effects of overproduction of bullion, presumably silver in America, and are no evidence of increasing

\* As we write, an account of its success in Kasia, printed in the *Indian People* at Allahabad, has come to hand.

prosperity in the country. It is true, as pointed out by the Hon. Mr. Gokhle in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, that the surpluses have been due to the same rate of taxation (mark the distinction between this and the assessment of land to the land revenue, which has not been called upon to bear any extra burden) that was considered necessary when the finances of the country were in a perilous condition in consequence of the fall in the exchange value of silver being still continued, although the cost of home remittances had been materially reduced ; but our author has not had the honesty to admit that in the Budget for 1903, the very earliest moment when such remission of taxation was considered practicable, a large reduction in the tax upon salt was made under Lord Curzon's own Government, and a greater reduction would probably have been made if the policy of wiping off arrears of land revenue accumulated during recent famine years, and thus affording immediate relief to the agriculturists, had not been considered the more preferable course. It may cursorily be noted here that it was a strange way of preparing the Budget to calculate on the arrears as an asset and then wipe them off by a Budget debit, when the simpler course would have been to write them off in the village and other revenue accounts, and not include them on the credit side at all ; for, the money not having been collected, there was no one to whom it could be paid back, and a Budget debit was thus unnecessary and fallacious. This debit can, in fact, only have gone towards swelling the cash balance of the succeeding year.

Our author appears to be entirely mistaken in calling the successful currency policy that has resulted in steady-  
ing the rate of foreign exchange a false appreciation of the value of the silver rupee, for it continues in India to be the representative of the value of all indigenous commodities, and it is only when weighed against gold for purposes of foreign exchanges or the purchase of foreign commodities that its value has appreciated.

In connection with the relief that may be afforded by the establishment of Agricultural Banks, the fact should not be lost sight of that in recent legislation with regard to transactions between debtor and creditor it has been thought right in civilized England to give power to Courts of Equity to go behind the stipulations in bonds for debt to the first origin of such debt, and only to decree for such portion of it as may seem just on a consideration of the interest charged and all other circumstances under which it may have been incurred and subsequently accumulated. If it is right to take such precautions on behalf of a debtor here, surely it would be more necessary in the case of an ignorant Indian peasant who cannot read or write, and is in nine cases out of ten at the mercy of his creditor.

There is certainly one point on which we are entirely in accord with the author—viz., the injustice proposed to be done to India by charging her with the cost price of recruiting and training every European soldier sent out to serve there, and we were glad to find from the newspapers a few days ago that Lord Curzon had telegraphed home a strong protest against the proposal. Our protest, however, would not have assumed the really childish form of words adopted by the author in commenting on the advice of *Capital*, a Calcutta journal, that the Indian Government should resist the impost tooth and nail, but that “the Indian Government has no teeth or nails except for the native taxpayer.” The whole tone of the book adopted by the author is of the same sneering, personal, and irritating nature, which we would strongly advise his giving up if he hopes to convince his readers. We pass over, with the remark that those on the spot must be the best judges of whether the Calcutta Municipality had or had not done its duty when its constitution was altered by Lord Curzon and his Council, our author’s animadversions on that proceeding. The newly-constituted Municipality is on its trial, and it is to be hoped that it will give greater satisfaction than its predecessor. The author himself acknowledges that the



latter would have been none the worse for a *little tightening up*. After the style of insinuation in which he speaks of the non-appointment of the Hon. Mr. Smeaton to succeed Sir F. Fryer as Lieutenant-Governor (? Chief Commissioner) of Burmah, and of Sir H. Cotton not being nominated Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and of the *meddlesome* Viceroy who, after a bare three months in India, contrary to the advice of his experienced predecessor, Lord Elgin, set to work to harass the wealthiest and most progressive inhabitants of Calcutta—after describing Lord Curzon as impatient, short-sighted, and impetuous, one whose cleverness only leads him into a morass of failure, and in another place as a “Popinjay Imperialist,” who naturally prefers to see himself surrounded with a mob of titled sightseers and millionaire foreigners, as being in one case as weak and wrong as in another he was weak and right, the want of backbone being the dominating feature of both policies—the author’s sublime unconsciousness of the irony of the situation when he writes, “I think I can claim to have avoided any strong language or vigorous adjectives of my own” (p. 31), must excite our wondering admiration. On the principle of giving a dog a bad name and hanging him, he lays the blame of the failure of some of the cotton-mills in Bombay on Lord Curzon’s shoulders because he has failed to relieve the cotton industry of the taxation that is said to be killing them, according to the opinion of the Hon. Mr. Moses. If we remember rightly, Mr. Moses traced the failure to the currency policy already alluded to, and not to the taxation which is levied in the shape of an excise duty on the produce of the mills. That either of these was the cause we, for reasons which it would take too long to enter into here, entirely disbelieve, as it was due, in our opinion, to overproduction; but whatever may have been the cause, Lord Curzon cannot be held accountable, for the duty was imposed at the instance of Manchester, and Lord Curzon could not have removed it without the consent of the Home Government and Parlia-

ment. Bombay merchants as well as other men are liable to take false notions into their heads, and we do not consider Mr. Moses infallible.

After a virulent attack on the Viceroy for his presumed support of the recommendation of the Commission appointed to inquire into the Indian educational system, by which the advantages of high education would be made more expensive to, and therefore less attainable by, poor men, the author admits that Lord Curzon, far from wishing to injure education in India, was filled with the best intentions (even here he cannot refrain from a sneer, in adding, "paved throughout with them"), and has not carried out the Commission's proposals. With regard to the granting of a *Sanad*, or title-deed, to the Chief of the Seraikilla State in Chhota Nagpur, for which fault is next found with Lord Curzon, we cannot speak positively, as we are at a place where books of reference are not available, but believe it will be found that the form made use of is a common and ordinary one. Whether this should be found to be the case or not, it is ridiculous to assume that the form should have been adopted in the instance of this particular petty chief in order to gratify Lord Curzon's personal "Imperialist" notions, or that any change in the relations between the Paramount Power and Native States generally is in contemplation.

Even the bitterest Radical at home will hardly be flattered by the Delhi Durbar being designated a *pagan rout*, as it is styled at p. 84, nor will he appreciate the depth of the sarcasm that because the Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta did not find a seat there the majesty of the Law was violated in his person, and Lord Curzon has forgotten that the Indian is a loyal subject only because our courts of law give him justice and protection.

In consonance with the rest of the *measured* language of the letter, the account of the formation of the frontier province beyond that of the Panjáb and between it and

Afghanistan, is headed, "The Flouting of Experienced Advice: a *bêtise*." Being outside the range of local feeling on the question of consulting the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb in the matter, it appears to us that the measure was one dictated by ordinary common-sense policy, for at the best the control of a frontier inhabited by uncivilized and warlike tribes was not one to be left in the hands of a Civil Government. It was precisely in such a position that prompt action on the part of the Government of India, who are ultimately responsible for the peace of the border and our relations with foreign Powers beyond it, whether immediate or distant, might become necessary at any moment, and that the circumlocutory route of a correspondence through another authority that was not ultimately responsible was clearly inadvisable. It was a ticklish question, on which opinions might well differ, but it was assuredly not one the decision in which deserved such a scathing remark as that of the author, that to doubt Lord Curzon's wisdom in India was a deeper guilt than the sin in Germany of breathing a word against Kaiser Wilhelm's fancies. The cudgels are next taken up against the non-appointment of Sir H. Cotton to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, but this, as well as Lord Curzon's failure to send Mr. Smeaton to Burmah, is a personal matter which it is not within the scope of the present article to deal with.

In the author's comments on the legislation with regard to percolating water in Madras, though not in their style, we concur, and believe it could have been only urgent representations on the part of the authorities there and his own want of local knowledge that induced Lord Curzon to sanction a tax on water that might percolate from State canals into land not distinctly assessed for the use of such water. A knowledge of the processes of Nature under the surface of the earth is not given to ordinary mortals, and much less to the village authorities, into whose hands the power of taxing unseen water must ultimately fall. To entrust such power in such a casual manner is to open a

wide door to fraud and speculation that professional settlement operations are meant to minimize.‡

One final word on the subject, so much harped upon by the author, of not allowing courts of law jurisdiction in matters relating to Land Revenue Settlements. The reason for this is not to be found in the jealousy of the revenue authorities of interference with their decisions, but in the fact that settlement operations are, as a rule, dependent on so many recondite considerations that no court could, from the previous training of the judges, be expected to master their intricacies. Water is a commodity that the *rayat* should be allowed to use and pay for as he chooses, and, if its price is reasonable, he is quite sure to use it.

Lastly, the Bombay Act referred to does not destroy the peasant proprietary. It is only when this proprietary title has reverted to the State through the tenant's failure to pay its dues, and that title has thus become extinguished, that the collector will be empowered to relet it and not confer the title anew. This is a very different matter, apparently incomprehensible to the author.

## EDUCATION IN CEYLON.

## A PLEA FOR ESTATE SCHOOLS.\*

BY A. G. WISE.

"THE gates of knowledge should never be closed." This was a familiar maxim of the ancient Egyptians. To get the gates of knowledge opened for a very numerous and deserving class of our Indian fellow-subjects, who are now living in Ceylon, and by their industry contributing to the wealth and prosperity of that fortunate island, is my object in bringing this question forward.

I wish it to be understood at the outset that I am actuated by no feelings of hostility to the planters on whose estates the Tamil coolies and their children reside; and I also frankly admit that the Government of Ceylon have in the past shown themselves not undesirous to provide means for the education of this particular section of the Tamil population. It will be my endeavour to explain that their efforts have not been crowned with success, and to indicate what steps might be taken to remove the dense ignorance in which the coolie children are reared, causing them in after-life to become the easy victims of unscrupulous native foremen or "kanganies," "caddie-keepers" or village shopmen; as well as of moneylenders and sharpers of all kinds. The coolies are besides too much addicted to arrack-drinking and to other evil habits, possibly, in some measure, through lack of education.

The total population of Ceylon, according to the census of 1901, is 3,565,954. The ratio of increase of population in the decade since 1891 is so large as 18·6 per cent., which is a sure sign of prosperity, although allowance must be made for the continuous and increasing immigration of Tamils from Southern India. The actual number of Tamils is 951,740, of whom 406,281 are living on plantations. As regards the present condition of education in Ceylon, at the

\* See the Proceedings of the East India Association, elsewhere in this *Review*, for the discussion on this paper.

risk of wearying your readers with too many figures I must ask their attention to the very serious fact that the total number of persons able to read or write any language is only 773,196, while no fewer than 2,790,255 are unable to read or write, of whom 1,553,018 are females. With respect to the children of a school-going age, it may be stated roughly that three-fifths only are receiving some education, and two-fifths (some 130,000) none whatever.

An able correspondent of the *Times*, commenting on these figures, points out that this is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. "If," he says, "the mass of Sinhalese and Tamils are to be advanced materially as well as morally, there can be no doubt but that Government should add greatly to its elementary vernacular schools, and should include industrial teaching and the inculcation of the habits of thrift such as Sir Anthony Macdonell desiderates for the people of India."\*

That nearly four-fifths of the population of Ceylon should be unable to read and write is, indeed, lamentable; but when we turn to the one particular section of the community on whose behalf I am thus now appealing—the coolies employed, or resident, upon estates—the proportion of the ignorant is far greater. With the adults we need not concern ourselves. With regard, however, to these Tamil coolie children, we find that there are 39,937 between five and ten years of age, and 53,066 between ten and fifteen years. Taking the male children alone, there are 48,741 between the age of five and fifteen, or, approximately, and at the lowest estimate, 25,000 young boys between the age of seven and twelve years who should by rights be spending a good portion of their time at school. Of all these Tamil children of both sexes, less than 2,000 are receiving any systematic education. There is sitting in Colombo an important Commission, termed the Incidence on Taxation Commission, and the Educational Cess Committee of that body will, in all likelihood, recommend that funds be provided for a considerable extension of the benefits of educa-

\* The *Times*, May 30, 1902.

tion. Should this surmise be correct, it is to be trusted that the claims of the estate coolie children will not be overlooked, whatever difficulties may be apparent in the way of devising some scheme of education, which will not be opposed by the planters as interfering with their rights, nor yet be unwelcome to the coolies themselves.

It would be out of place here to trace back into remote centuries the relations between the inhabitants of Southern India and the Sinhalese. Suffice it to say that from time immemorial the Tamils have invaded Ceylon, imposed monarchs upon a less manly race, and in Anaradhapura and other noble ruins of buildings, designed doubtless by Tamil architects and executed by the forced work of the Sinhalese, have left us memorials of their ancient skill and civilization. Their descendants have, of course, deteriorated, but they still possess many splendid qualities, not the least among which is that the Tamils form, perhaps, the best labour in the world for colonies situated in tropical latitudes.

An interesting account might be written of the relationship between labourers and employers in Ceylon during the dark days of a quarter of a century ago, when bankruptcy stared planters in the face. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, when, as Duke of York, he paid a visit to Ceylon in 1901 bound upon a mission to inaugurate the Parliament of the new Australian Commonwealth, spoke in terms of well-deserved admiration of the pluck and energy with which the English planters buckled to upon the failure of coffee, and tried experiment after experiment with tropical products of all kinds, refusing to admit defeat. Yet it must be granted their struggles would have been in vain had it not been for the splendid and unselfish manner in which the Tamil coolies stood by their masters, in many cases waiving all claims for pay until better times should come. With well-justified confidence in the integrity of their employers, whose word they knew by experience that they could trust, they were content to receive during several months their rice and curry stuffs—the bare necessities of life, binding up their lot and fortune with their “durai,” or master. In

these days of companies the relationship between the parties may be not quite the same; still, the good qualities of a race do not quickly vanish, and if the coolie saw, as he knew of old, that his employer took an interest in him, he would be, I am sure, equally appreciative of the fact. The establishment of schools upon sound lines might, indeed, be the humble means of removing some of the labour difficulties of which we now hear too often in Ceylon newspapers, and of restoring to a certain extent the healthy and mutually ennobling relations between planters and their coolies, so entirely creditable and satisfactory to all concerned.

Before entering upon a consideration of the steps which it may be desirable to take to provide the means of education for the coolie children, I would advert briefly to their life as it is at present on tea estates. I will not draw a harrowing picture of their miserable lot, for they are, no doubt, better off in Ceylon than they would be had they remained in overpopulated India. The planters are as fine and fair a set of men as the English race has produced, and the coolies in their employ are, as a rule, treated with justice and with humanity. From their earliest infancy the babies accompany their parents to the "field," being suspended to a branch of a shady tree in a cotton cloth while their mothers pluck the tea-leaves from the bushes. This work they are called upon to perform at a very early age. The task, however, is not too arduous, and, perhaps, the youngsters would prefer to be out in the field, and so contributing to the family's earnings, rather than be learning lessons. Still, attendance at school, as I shall endeavour by-and-by to show, need not interfere to a serious extent with their work.

On a few estates (43 in all out of a total of 1,857 plantations) schools have already been erected, and the children thus have an opportunity of obtaining primary vernacular education. On the vast majority of estates, however, nothing has been done in this direction. The classes provided by the coolies themselves are scarcely



worth more than a passing reference. They are not numerous, and the teaching is spasmodic and valueless so far as I have been able to judge.

As has been pointed out by a local journal, although the Government of the Island has hitherto done something in the way of grants (which, by the way, the Chairman of the Planters' Association deems inadequate), with a view to encourage the efforts of existing schools, the result has so far not been satisfactory; for, with all these schools and all this encouragement, only an infinitesimal portion of the children have learned to read and write. "Plainly, therefore, either something is wrong in the methods employed, or the number of schools is not sufficient. The meagreness of the output suggests, naturally enough, some imperfection in the machinery, or some error in its management. Clearly, it does not do all that it is intended and expected to do. To find out this defect and to seek to remedy it is," the writer concludes, "the obvious duty of the present hour."\*

With whom does the fault lie? The Government of Ceylon has, I believe, occupied itself with this question since the days of Sir Charles Bruce, who held the position of Director of Public Instruction in the year 1878, and the following is practically the system which is now in vogue. Under the Education Code there are three distinct classes of schools. Firstly, the schools which are under the immediate supervision of the Government. For these a building must be provided by the estate, while the Department initiate and look after the school, and pay the master's salary. It is somewhat surprising to find that there are only two schools of this character in existence. Then there are what are known as grant-in-aid schools, which receive a subsidy of a fairly liberal extent, provided the attendance is shown to be satisfactory. Lastly, there are the schools (mainly in the hands of missionaries) which receive a grant not exceeding Rs. 300 (or £20) per annum. The amount

\* *The Ceylon Independent*, May 6, 1903.

of the grant to which each student is entitled depends upon the class he is in and the number of subjects in which he passes at the periodical examinations. Grants are applied to the payment of teachers' salaries and other school requirements. Certain conditions of attendance are required to be fulfilled—viz., an average attendance for three months of fifteen boys or ten girls, or fifteen boys and girls in a mixed school, while certified teachers are not required. Under the provisions of the code, managers of private schools unconnected with any recognised society or public body have to give substantial security for their maintenance during at least three years, and must sign an undertaking to that effect. This grant, as before stated, the Chairman of the Planters' Association desires to see substantially increased. It is, therefore, much to be regretted that the Director of Public Instruction has recommended the withdrawal from the code of the provision under which this grant is made. At a meeting lately held of the Ceylon Educational Association in Colombo, a resolution condemning the proposed step has been passed, which, I hope, will cause the matter to be re-considered.

Mr. C. H. Schwann, M.P., who has taken a prominent part in connection with this movement, elicited during last Session from Mr. Chamberlain the promise of a return showing the number of schools in existence, the average attendance thereat, and the amount spent out of public funds on the schools; and I shall refer by-and-by to a report which has already been furnished on the subject.

The cause of failure is not far to seek. It will be observed that in each class of schools the initiative rests with the planters. A superintendent of an estate is an extremely busy and a much-harassed individual. His first duty is towards his employer, whether an absentee proprietor or a company in Great Britain. We cannot, therefore, expect him to trouble himself overmuch with such matters as the schooling of the children resident on the estate which he manages. A Colombo journal, the editor

of which is a member of the local Legislative Council, has expressed the hope that, since the attention of company directors and proprietors has been called to this part of their duty, the number of estate schools will rapidly increase.\* I fear, nevertheless, that the views of a proprietary planter now in England (who himself whilst in Ceylon founded a school on his estate) will be more generally held. He expressed regret on being informed that the school in which he had taken much interest had ceased to exist owing to the indifference of the present superintendent, but declined to make any representations to him on the subject, as he considered that in such matters superintendents should not be interfered with.

On the other hand, these schools are, as a rule, successful when the superintendent shows that he does not consider them beneath his notice. In this connection the following extract from a letter written by the manager of an up-country tea estate in Ceylon may, perhaps, be worth quoting :

"We have," he writes, "two schools here, one on each division. Our teachers get 20 rupees each month. Half is paid by the estate, and the Head Kangany guarantees the other half. Fees of 25 cents a month are collected from the scholars, and if the total amounts to less than 10 rupees a month, the balance is got from the Head Kangany. It interests him in influencing the boys and girls to be regular, for a falling off of scholars means less fees and more outlay on his part. The hours are from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m. The school is also open during the day, but few attend. The cost of lamps, oil, books, slates, etc., is met by the estate, and got from the 'fines account,' which always more than covers the expenditure. I built the first schoolroom on estate account ; but when the upper division asked for a school also, I stipulated that the school and teachers' house were to be erected by the coolies free of cost to the estate. They willingly agreed. We have an average attendance in the two schools of about fifty scholars.

\* *The Ceylon Observer*, June 23, 1903.

I have little trouble, but stop rice now and again when a boy plays truant."

In this particular instance, however, the writer was himself proprietor, and did not begrudge the amount which had to be spent in order to keep the school going. In the case of an estate owned by a company, the manager would probably not feel justified in spending any of the shareholders' money in this direction. I am bound, moreover, to say that such outlay should, in my opinion, come from the Government (or at least a considerable part of it) rather than from the pockets of any particular individual or company. The estate might, perhaps, be asked to see to the provision and upkeep of a school edifice, for on most plantations suitable buildings exist which could be converted to serve such a purpose at slight expense or trouble.

I question whether it would always be possible to obtain payment from the parents for the schooling of their children, but this doubtless is a matter upon which the Incidence upon Taxation Commission will seek the evidence of practical planters; they will also have to consider how to proceed upon estates where the superintendents are indifferent to the subject. Personally, I think that the fact that forty-three planters have already voluntarily established schools is of good augury towards the success of any proper scheme which the Government may bring forward. I do not for one moment believe that there will be any real opposition on the part of the planters when it is seen that the Government has no intention of interfering in any way with the general working of the estate. Therefore it seems to me the only alternative is a system of free schools, the cost thereof being defrayed from the total revenue of this prosperous colony. This question of payment, however, although an important one, is a matter of detail, and may be left over for subsequent discussion. My main object to-day is to impress upon your readers and upon the Government of Ceylon the advisability of causing proper facilities to be provided upon every estate, or group of

estates, for the primary vernacular education of the Tamil coolie children resident thereon. Should this object be not otherwise attainable, it may become necessary for India, whence the labour comes, to attach conditions with respect to education as the coolies pass from India to Ceylon. The Medical Ordinance, by which it is now the law that medicines as well as dispensers possessing the proper knowledge and training shall be provided on every large estate, originated, I believe, in representations made by the Indian authorities; and the care of the mind is not less important than the care of the body.

Is it intended to allow the majority of these Tamil children to grow up without any education, as is the case at present? "There is no doubt," says an eminent author,\* "but that education in its true meaning, as including especially the patient training to habits not only of study but also of industry, of morality and of godliness, is a most essential and efficient means of promoting the happiness of the people and preventing vice and crime." The contention of the same author, that "education tends in general to prevent crime," is also usually admitted. Crime being far too prevalent in the Island, the authorities should adopt the course suggested by Sir John Winfield Bonser, the last Chief Justice of Ceylon, who constantly maintained that steps should be taken to give the children the elements of knowledge, and bring them under wholesome moral influence, lest otherwise they should eventually swell the ranks of crime, and increase the growth of lawlessness.

A fear has been expressed that the proposed schools would unduly interrupt work on estates. Let us consider how far this objection is founded. The scheme, if carried into effect, would, to no appreciable extent, affect the amount of labour performed. All that would be necessary is that the children who attend school should be allowed to cease work at 3 p.m., when the leaf which they had plucked

\* William Tallack, "Penological and Preventive Principles." London, 1889.

would be weighed in the field and the children dismissed, one or two being told off to convey the leaf sacks to the factory. The school should be kept open in the morning for the children who are too small to go to work, and also from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. for the others ; and there would also be no objection to the schools being available in the evening for those who chose to attend. The present regulation as regards age, by which no child under fourteen can be examined for a grant-in-aid, is one which hits a night-school very hard, and ought to be amended. It would, perhaps, be inadvisable to make attendance at school compulsory. If, however, schools were rendered attractive by means of prizes, there is no doubt in my own mind that the coolies would realize, sooner or later, the advantage of their children being thus educated. The curriculum should be as easy as possible. Every child should be taught to read and write his own language. He should also learn some simple arithmetic, so as to be able eventually to keep his own accounts of moneys advanced to him by his kangany and others, the elements of geography, and his national history, together with such other subjects as are taught to Sinhalese children at the primary schools already established. If it were not found feasible to provide gratuitous instruction, a small sum could, perhaps, be deducted from the parents' or children's pay, the amounts levied being entered in the monthly check-roll, and remitted to the authorities, say, once a quarter.

I do not think that there can be any need to go further into the details of the proposal, and as for the benefits which would accrue therefrom, I will content myself with quoting the expression of opinion of a Colombo journal which has devoted much attention to this subject. "We have little doubt," writes the editor, "that primary education for Tamil children on the estates would create a more intelligent class, more free from crime and drunkenness than their more ignorant fathers."\* I heartily endorse

\* *The Times of Ceylon*, April 4, 1902.

also the words of Mr. S. S. Thorburn, who expressed himself last year in emphatic terms as follows: "In the extension of primary education among the masses in India lay the chief hope of raising them from a position resembling that of bovine bipeds with the intelligence of quadrupeds to that of human beings able to take care of themselves through life." It may, moreover, be urged that if it were found possible in some measure to inculcate the habits of thrift whilst the children were yet young, the heavy indebtedness of individual coolies might become a thing of the past.

In this connection I would at the same time suggest that the rate of usury be limited to 10 per cent. The present method of chetties and Moormen is to lend money to coolies and kanganies at from 15 to 25 per cent.—a practice which is demoralizing and iniquitous; while a limit of, say, 20 rupees should be placed upon the amount for which a coolie may become liable to the estate upon which he serves, and 15 rupees to the kaddi-keeper or storekeeper of the village. If no larger sum were by law recoverable from a coolie, the reckless borrowing system might cease, and there might be less "bolting" from estates.

This, however, is diverging somewhat from the subject before us. What I wished to show was that, with education on proper lines, the coolie would be enabled to keep his own accounts, and would be less liable to be swindled than is now the case. He would tend to become a better man, and altogether more creditable to the English nation, under whose flag he lives. The results would in the long-run prove beneficial. The youngsters could still do the work which is required of them. The coolie could stick to his own last. To argue that the simple education suggested would be injurious, and would for ever after render the coolie unfitted for the labour he is called upon to perform, is not consistent with the experience of Ceylon planters who have made the trial on their own estates.

There is no need for me to dwell upon my own connection with the subject of this paper. Suffice it to say that whilst I was engaged in planting in Ceylon, I drew attention upon several occasions to the lack of facilities for the education of the Tamil coolie children, and urged the Government to take action, while since my arrival in England the matter has not been lost sight of. I am very glad to have the privilege and opportunity in these pages to present my views. I feel, moreover, convinced that the question comes within the scope of the friends of the East India Association, inasmuch as its chief aim is to promote by all legitimate means the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India.

I may here pronounce acknowledgment of the kindly sympathy with the movement expressed on two occasions by the National Indian Association. That Association, of which Lord Hobhouse is President, has stated that it realizes the importance of instruction for the coolie children so as to raise their level and fit them for life, and has been good enough to convey a hope that the efforts which are being made in this direction will prove successful.

Valuable service, too, has been rendered by the action taken in the House of Commons by Mr. C. H. Schwann, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee, Mr. Herbert Roberts, Mr. G. H. Weir, and other members of Parliament. The time at my disposal does not permit me to quote in detail the various questions asked, and the answers given by Mr. Chamberlain, but it may be mentioned that just before the close of the Session the Colonial Secretary telegraphed to the Governor on the subject, and stated that the question of the education of these Tamil coolies would be brought under the notice of the Incidence on Taxation Commission now sitting in Colombo. The news was gratifying, and doubtless the Commission will be able to arrive at some definite and practical scheme.

The Colonial Office have received a despatch from Sir West Ridgeway, which, however, has not yet been presented



to Parliament. The Governor of Ceylon points out the increase of expenditure on education and of the number of schools during his *régime*, while he anticipates that the Commission above referred to will make proposals for further outlay in this direction. As regards estate schools, Sir West Ridgeway is of opinion that the planters would oppose, and the Tamils themselves might resent, compulsory education. Against this presumption, however, it may with all due deference be pointed out that a certain number of planters have, of their own initiative, caused schools to be established; while as regards the coolies, if their earnings did not suffer to any appreciable extent, the parents would not, in my opinion, offer serious opposition to a measure which, as they would recognise, would in the end be for the benefit of their offspring. Sir West Ridgeway, indeed, draws attention to the fact mentioned by two leading Visiting Agents that on some estates the coolies have started schools for themselves. Surely, if such be the case, both planters and coolies would welcome the advantages of an improved organization and systematic instruction. Too much stress need not be laid upon the fact that one Government-aided school, after a year's trial, closed its doors. The Governor, while submitting this case, might also very well have instanced the school described in these pages, and might have mentioned that some of the older schools have been in existence for over twenty years.

Of particular value is the report forwarded by His Excellency from Mr. J. Harward, the Director of Public Instruction, who appears to attach but little importance to the so-called schools in the coolie lines to which the Governor refers in his own despatch, but states that "it is not unfair to say that there is hardly any proper educational provision for the children of the Tamil estate coolie." He mentions the regulation by which three hours are insisted on as a minimum for a day's work in school. This is a difficulty, for children who are employed all day

cannot do three hours' work in school. "The result is estate schools are scarcely possible except on estates where the children are dismissed from their estate work early in order that they may attend school." The alteration of this rule is, I believe, however, under consideration. Mr. Harward continues as follows: "The question of providing the necessary minimum education for the estate population does not present any very great difficulties, but two conditions are necessary: (1) The hours of estate work for children attending school must be limited; and (2) The cost, or at any rate a large part, should be thrown on the coolies themselves, who are emigrants earning good wages."

Mr. Harward says he supposes "that no planters would deny that many children go out as pluckers at an age when they would be more appropriately employed in going to school," and says, in conclusion, that these children "should have some instruction of a simple and elementary nature."

I have quoted this report at some length because it bears out to a remarkable degree the contentions which have been frequently made upon this subject of estate schools and the lack of proper facilities for the education of these Tamil children.

Finally, we have a statement by Mr. A. C. Kingsford included in the Governor's despatch. Even if a comprehensive scheme for the education of estate coolies be not immediately propounded, it may be hoped that the Government of Ceylon will not fail to adopt Mr. Kingsford's suggested "extension on a much more liberal scale of the present grants"; for, as the Chairman of the Planters' Association rightly claims, the prosperity of the Island of Ceylon is chiefly due to the planting industry, and the labourers of that industry may consequently well receive some additional assistance from Government towards their education, even though the coolie for the moment may not himself realize the need for such education.

In British Guiana, undenominational estates schools have been founded, attended by practically all the estate children, who are the offspring of indentured labour from Southern India. The parents pay a small fee, and, as stated by the Lieut.-Governor of Ceylon, the Hon. Everard im Thurn, they gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of having their children educated.

Sir Robert Giffen, in his recent address before the British Association, said: "Education is the watchword, and should be the first thought in all our minds. Extensive diffusion of education is not only essential," he added, "to the greater efficiency of labour, but is equally needed for the conduct of life itself—for the health and comfort of the workers, their freedom from debasing superstitions and prejudices, their capacity to enjoy the higher pleasures, and their ability to manage all common affairs. . . . The claim for education is more pressing than any other, while the case for India" (and Sir Robert Giffen might have added Ceylon) "and other subject races under the British Empire requires special consideration, owing to the very poverty of the people who have to be instructed and developed." I have quoted these words at length, for they seem to me very apt to the question which I have the honour to bring under the notice of this Association.

To improve the lot of the coolie children resident on the plantations of Ceylon by providing the much-needed additional facilities for their education would be acting only in accordance with the fine traditions which have—in later years, at least—been associated with the rule of England over weaker nations. It is our proud boast that wherever possible their condition shall be ameliorated. Great Britain seeks to elevate and civilize native races, and to heighten the moral and material standard of the peoples under her sway. It would, therefore, be an eminently suitable beginning of the rule of Sir Henry Arthur Blake, the new Governor of Ceylon, if it should fall to the lot of His Excellency to inaugurate the proposals which are

here imperfectly sketched forth, and which must, if given effect to, ultimately materially alter for the better the condition of that most deserving class, the Tamil coolie ; whilst due regard would be taken not in any way to unfit him from following the calling of his fathers, nor from continuing in that mode of life to which he is best suited by heredity, as well as by his natural aptitude and by racial characteristics.

# PRINCIPLES OF BRITISH LAND LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

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(CANTAB.).

LAND legislation under British rule means not merely the fixing of the mutual relations of various classes of persons interested in land, but also a declaration of the extent to which particular relations of any kind can be upheld under the general principles which underlie all British rule. These general principles, it is true, have not been explicitly stated anywhere, but, all the same, they are implied in every piece of British legislation. The history of British land legislation in India clearly points to one thing, and that is that British rulers, instead of importing wholesale into an Oriental land legal ideas drawn from English law, have tried their best to adopt principles of law recognised by Hindu and Muhammadan rulers. This is as it should be, considering that India boasts of a highly complex civilization of its own, not due to Western influence—a civilization which manifests itself in every department of life. Mistakes have no doubt been made now and then by the British Government, owing to their applying English ideas of land law to India. For instance, the introduction of the zemindari system into Bengal by Lord Cornwallis was based on the erroneous idea that the relation between the Indian zemindar and the ryot is similar to the relation that exists between an English landlord and tenant. Disastrous results followed from Lord Cornwallis having given practical effect to this erroneous idea, for the rights and interests of the ryots were sadly neglected thereby. But such cases of forcing of English ideas on Indian land administration are rare, and these rare cases are also due to the ignorance of the British officers, at the time, of the past history of the country. Leaving out these exceptional cases, it must be admitted that, on the whole,

British rulers have exercised the greatest care in adopting the leading ideas governing customary and express law in India, while framing their own laws regulating rights and interests in land.

The constitutional attitude of British law towards land is clearly defined by Mr. Joshua Williams when he says : "The first thing the student has to do is to get rid of the idea of absolute ownership (in land). Such an idea is quite unknown to the English law." In other words, English law distinctly vests the sovereign rights in land in the Crown, as the head of the State. All lands within the realm were originally derived from the Crown, either by express grant or by tacit intendment of law, and therefore the Crown is the paramount lord of every parcel of land within the land. The highest interest in land in England is represented by the fee-simple, but even the giver and seller of an estate in fee-simple is himself but a tenant, with the liberty of putting another in his own place. "He may have under him a tenant for years, or a tenant for life, or even a tenant in tail ; but he cannot now by any kind of conveyance place under himself a tenant of an estate in fee-simple. The statute of *Qua emptores* now forbids anyone from making himself the lord of such an estate. All he can do is to transfer his own tenancy ; and the purchaser of an estate in fee-simple must hold his own estate of the same chief lord of the fee, as the seller held before him." Now, this idea that the paramount right in land vests in the Sovereign, and in the Sovereign alone, is the leading principle governing land law in England. Such a view seems to be in consonance with Hindu ideas of rights in land as defined by the great Indian law-giver, Manu.

In old civilized countries the land, for obvious reasons, takes the lead in regard to the idea of property, and this is specially so in India, where the people, from time immemorial, have been agricultural. We are, therefore, surprised at the definiteness with which certain principles

relating to proprietary rights in land are laid down in Manu. When the Code of Manu was compiled, State organization had reached a certain degree of complexity. The idea of territorial sovereignty was fully established, and the rights the Government had to property in soil are, therefore, clearly laid down. Almost the whole of chapter viii. of the Code is taken up with rules relating to the organization of the Government, and the duties of the sovereign and of the officers who should constitute the administration under him. After stating that a "king is created as the protector of all those classes and orders of men who from the first to the last discharge their duties," Manu proceeds to define the conditions under which the different subordinates should hold their position :

"Let him (*i.e.*, the king) place as the protection of his realm a company of guards, commanded by an approved officer, over two or three hundred districts (*i.e.*, townships), according to their extent."

"Let him appoint a lord of one town with its district, a lord of ten towns, a lord of twenty towns, a lord of a hundred, and a lord of a thousand."

"Let the lord of one town certify of his own accord to the lord of ten towns any robberies, tumults, or riots which arise in his district (township) which he cannot suppress ; and the lord of ten to the lord of twenty."

"Then let the lord of twenty towns notify to the lord of a hundred, and the lord of a hundred transmit the information to the lord of a thousand townships."

"Such food, drinks, and other articles as by law should be given each day by the inhabitants of the township to the king let the lord of one town receive as his perquisite."

"Let the lord of ten towns enjoy the produce of two plough lands, or as much ground as can be tilled with two ploughs, each drawn by six bulls ; the lord of twenty, that of ten ploughs ; the lord of a hundred, that of a village or small town ; the lord of a thousand, that of a large town."

Now, if these passages prove anything at all, they show clearly that the superior right of sovereign as territorial ruler was distinctly recognised by the ancient Hindu law-givers. One of the postulates which lies at the very threshold of the International Code is the proposition that "sovereignty is territorial." But this idea of the sovereign right of the State in its territory was late in developing in Europe. The idea of sovereignty was not associated always in Europe with dominion over a portion or a subdivision of the soil. The idea of tribal sovereignty preceded the idea of territorial sovereignty; and if Sir Henry Maine's view is correct, "the territorial view—the view which connects sovereignty with the possession of a limited portion of the earth's surface—was distinctly an offshoot, though a leading one, of *feudalism*." But the Hindu conception of sovereignty, from the very commencement, seems to have been "territorial," as is seen from the passage from Manu quoted above. We must not fail to allude here to another passage in Manu which has often been quoted. The passage occurs in chapter ix., and is to the following effect: "Sages who know former times consider this earth (Prithivi) as the wife of King Prithi; and they pronounce *cultivated land to be the property of him who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it, and the antelope that of the first hunter who mortally wounded it.*" This remarkable and significant passage has certainly done good service in the hands of those in India, who have protested strongly against sovereign rights in land being vested in the Government; but when we come to examine the passage it is ambiguous. There is no reference whatever in it to any *absolute* right to the possession of land, and we should distinguish between absolute and relative rights. When Manu speaks of land as being the property of him who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it, we are not sure whether he meant anything more than the right to cultivate and appropriate the produce. But, when we take into con-



sideration another passage in Manu, which, strange enough, seems to have escaped the notice of students of the law of land rights in India, we find that the ancient law-giver had clearly and definitely distinguished two things—the *sovereign rights of the State in its territory* from that of *private property of the State*. Bluntschli, who gives a masterly analysis of the idea of territorial sovereignty as it has been developed in Europe, points out that the idea of State ownership of land—that is, the idea of State *private* property—should be kept perfectly distinct from that of political sovereignty. “Property is a matter of private law, even when it belongs to the State; sovereignty is essentially political, and can only belong to the State, or the head of the State.” What he means is, that the State has, no doubt, sovereign rights over the land which it governs; but this is entirely different from saying that the land is the *property* of the State, and hence the *landlord*. This distinction between *sovereign right*, which is a matter of public law, is very essential, and the question, which has provoked endless controversy in India, as to whether Government is landlord, would be very easily settled if this distinction between *sovereign right* and *proprietary right* is kept in view. Strange as it may seem, this important distinction, which is comparatively one of recent recognition in European law, is clearly accentuated in the Code of Manu. When Manu, in chapter vii., speaks of the power of the sovereign to appoint lords over townships; when he lays down that the disputes between two villagers or landholders concerning a boundary should be settled by the king and his judge; when he speaks of the claim the lord paramount of the soil has on private property in land, he distinctly asserts the “sovereign right” of the king over the soil. The very expression Manu uses is significant: the king is the “lord paramount of the soil.” But while recognising the sovereign right of the State over the territory, Manu at the same time recognises exclusive and individual rights in land as well. Apart from

the passage already quoted, in which cultivated land is regarded as the property of him who cut away the wood or who cleared and tilled it, Manu gives further information as to the nature of these rights. The owner of a field is directed or advised to keep up sufficient hedges; he is entitled to the produce of seed sown by another in his land unless by agreement with him, and to the produce of seed conveyed upon his land by wind or water; further, the case of a dispute between neighbouring landholders or villagers as to boundaries is contemplated, and a penalty provided for forcible trespass upon another's land. All these contemplate certain exclusive proprietary rights in land of individuals as distinct from the paramount sovereign right in land, which is a matter of public law.

The examination of the Hindu conception of rights in land as given by Manu points to the conclusion that the claims of the sovereign in the land were even more absolute according to Hindu than according to British law.

It has been said by some that the sovereign's right in the soil, according to Hindu conception, was limited to receiving the portion of the produce of the soil in the form of revenue, and therefore that the king had no claim to *proprietaryship* in the land. But, as we have seen, a distinction should be drawn between *sovereign* rights and *proprietary* rights, the former being a matter of public, and the latter one of private, law. The expression which Manu uses when he speaks of the king as the "paramount lord of the soil" is perfectly consistent with the idea of the sovereign right in land vesting in the Crown. The fact of the sovereign claiming a share of the produce, and, when that condition is not fulfilled, his being at liberty to hand over the land to any other person he chooses, distinctly implies absolute power over the soil. The sovereign's absolute power over the soil does not depend, as some suppose, in his being able to take all the profits of the cultivator as he pleases—for both express law and custom place a limit to the share of the king in the produce of the soil—but it depends upon

his power of depriving the cultivator of the land if he fails to cultivate it and pay the right dues to the sovereign power. The highest interest in land recognised by Hindu customary law is represented by the Mirasi tenure, corresponding as nearly as possible to the fee-simple, but an investigation of the Mirasi right shows that it is merely "a right to the use and substance of the soil, vested in the proprietor, his heirs and successors, *as long as he does, or can, cultivate it, and pays the dues of government.*" So long as such a restriction does not attach to proprietorship in land in England, we are justified in saying that the sovereign right in land, according to Hindu ideas, is more absolute than according to English law. Some authorities would look upon the Government rights in land in India as a kind of joint interest. This is the view evidently taken by Professor Marshall, who says :

"In early times, and in backward countries, even in our own age, all property depends on general understandings rather than on precise laws and documents. In so far as these understandings can be reduced to definite terms, and expressed in the language of modern business, they are generally to the following effect: the ownership of land is invested, not in an individual, but in a firm, of which one member or group of members (it may be a whole family) is the working partner. The sleeping partner is sometimes the ruler of the State, sometimes he is an individual who inherits what was once the duty of collecting payments due to this ruler from the cultivators of a certain part of the soil, but what, in the course of silent time, has become a right of ownership, more or less definite, more or less absolute. If, as is generally the case, he retains the duty of making certain payments to the ruler of the State, the partnership may be regarded as containing three members, of whom two are sleeping partners. The sleeping partners, or one of them, is generally called the proprietor, or landlord, or even landowner. But this is an incorrect way of speaking if he is restrained by law, or by custom which has

the force of law, from turning the cultivator out of his holding, either by an arbitrary enhancement of the payments exacted from him or by any other means. In that case, the property in the land vests, not in him alone, but in the whole of the firm, of which he is only a sleeping partner ; the payment made by the working partner is not rent at all, but is that fixed sum, or that part of the gross proceeds, as the case may be, which the constitution of the firm bind him to pay, and in so far as custom or law, which regulates these payments, is fixed and unalterable, the theory of rent has but little application."

The above passage describes in an admirable manner the joint interests in land possessed by the State and cultivator where there are no intermediate proprietors, or by the State, the zemindar (or landlord), and the cultivator, where there are such middlemen ; but while it defines correctly the limited interests in land possessed by the ryot or the zemindar, it does not describe quite accurately the position of the State. The Government is certainly more than a *sleeping* partner in the firm : it is the *predominant* partner, from whom the ryot and the zemindar derive their rights. A far better and more accurate mode of regarding this joint interest is to look upon the State as handing over the land which belongs to it by right of conquest to the cultivator on condition that he cultivates it, and out of the profit makes the payment due to Government ; and with a view to make the ryot take an interest in the land, the State *creates* proprietary rights in the land, which it confirms on certain individuals. It may be said that, once the Government invests individuals with proprietary rights in land, it renounces all its claims to it. Now, such a view is not even a correct description of the highest rights recognised in English law with regard to fee-simple ; much less is it applicable to any form of Indian land tenure. It is sometimes said that the Lord Cornwallis Code had succeeded in making zemindars absolute proprietors. This erroneous idea is due to the confusion in Lord Cornwallis's time as to

the exact position of zemindars, which was set right by later legislation. The Regulations of 1793 no doubt constituted zemindars as owners of the land, but such ownership was not absolute. The ownership was limited on one side by the amount of revenue which was due to Government, the regular payment of which was a condition for the retention of the rights in land; and on the other hand it was limited by the rights of subordinate holders, which, though left undefined by the Regulations of the Permanent Settlement, were still recognised and reserved for future legislation. The fact is, an absolute estate in land is as alien from British law as it is from the old Hindu and Muhammadan law of the country. When we come to think of it, the zemindars should be the last to claim absolute ownership in land. In the first place, there was hardly any room in the ancient Hindu land system for the zemindar, in the sense of proprietor of extensive lands; for the land was held either by the village community jointly, as in Northern India, or by individual members of the community in separate lots, as in the South. Secondly, it cannot be doubted that originally the zemindar was not in any sense a local landowner, except so far as he had private lands, or had, as Raja, some kind of territorial interest, or was in receipt of State grant of some kind; and zemindars who can trace their origin to territorial interests—as, for example, some of the large zemindars in the Central Provinces and in Guzerat, and the taluqdars in Oudh—are very few. One of the errors of British legislation is its failure to distinguish between zemindars, who owe their origin to tributary or territorial chiefs, or are representatives of the old Hindu kingdoms, and mere adventurers, who had originally no interests in land—as, for example, the revenue farmers of Bengal and the *Khots* of Bombay. Even those zemindars who trace their rights to some State grant of land have a better claim to be landlords than the revenue farmers of Bengal, on whom zemindari rights have been conferred by British legislation. To lump together as “zemindar” descendants of territorial

chiefs or rulers who had acquired rights in land by conquest, representatives of families who had received State grant of some kind for distinguished services rendered to the State, and revenue farmers and land officials under native or British rule, and confer on all these the same rights was, indeed, a piece of mistaken legislation, which can only be excused on the ground of the inability of the Government to trace the exact history of every family that laid claim to zemindari rights. But leaving this point aside, there can be no two opinions as regards the nature of the proprietary right conferred upon zemindars by British law. It was by no means an absolute or unlimited title. It was always intended to be limited by the maintenance of subordinate interests, which later legislation has made explicit. These interests were not sufficiently protected at first, as the subject was not well understood; but this defect has been rectified by later legislation.

In another important respect the proprietary right of individuals in the soil was limited by Hindu law, thus making more absolute the sovereign right of the State to her land. Hindu express and customary law does not seem to have contemplated conferring on owners of land the right of transfer and alienation. This was due to several causes. The movable property as well as the land of the family belonged to the family jointly, and the difficulty of obtaining the consent of all the members of the family to the transfer must have restricted considerably the right of transfer. There was another reason why land was scarcely ever transferred besides the cause due to difficulty of transfer or the conservative habits of the people, and that was want of marketable value for land and the absence of a market. In a country like India, where the area of waste land is so considerable, and the population, during the Hindu and Muhammadan period especially, so sparse, there could not have been much competition for land. But apart from these considerations, there is strong evidence that Hindu rulers did not surrender

the right of transfer and alienation to the proprietors of the land, even though their claims might have been those of mirasidars, the highest ever recognised by Hindu customary law. Owing to the right of superiority inherent in the king, and the concurrent ownership he had in all lands cultivated by the subject, the sale of lands could not be made without his consent, implied or direct. In the matter of transfer and alienation, the rights of the freeholder in England were far superior to those in India with the strongest proprietary claims to the land. The Muhammadan rulers seem to have been more liberal in recognising the rights of transfer and alienation. According to Muhammadan law, though the right to alienate Mookasumah land was limited, in order to alienate Wuzeefa land no permission from the sovereign was required. The British Government has also been extremely liberal in the matter of the rights of alienation. The very first British land legislation conferring proprietary rights on zemindars allowed them "to transfer to whomsoever they may think proper, by sale, gift, or otherwise, their proprietary rights in the whole, or any portion of their respective estates, without applying to Government for its sanction to the transfer." The later laws relating to tenure rights are also liberal in this respect. But British legislation, whilst granting unreservedly the powers of transfer and alienation in certain cases, has also restricted this right whenever it was found that the right had been exercised to the detriment of the proprietor's own interests; witness, for example, the restriction of this power in the case of zemindars, implied in the Madras Impartible Estates Act, 1902, and, in the case of cultivators, implied in the Bombay Revenue Code Amendment Bill, 1901.

Whilst Hindu customary and express law invests the sovereign right in land in the State—a principle which is in accord with the constitutional attitude of British law as well—it has also recognised from the commencement the proprietary rights in land of individuals. The idea of a right in land on the ground of first clearing and establish-

ing tillage has been admitted at all times in India. It is true that, when Manu pronounces "cultivated land to be the property of him who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it," he does not define exactly the nature of this proprietary right. It could not have been an absolute right, for he recognised the sovereign right in the land as vesting in the State; but there can be no doubt that the right to cultivate the land and be in possession of it so long as the cultivator pays the share of the produce due to the State was recognised by Hindu customary law from the earliest times. It is admitted now by those who have studied the history of land rights in India that the *mirasi*, *muli*, *kaniyatchi*, *swestheyam*, *janmakari*, and other special rights, the traces of which we find all over India, represent merely this primitive right by clearing and tilling the soil, which is the basis of all *ryotwari* holding. The sovereign's absolute right over the land, and the cultivator's contingent right in it, must have represented the only two grades of rights recognised by the most primitive Hindu land system. This being so, it is easy to see that the present *ryotwari* form of holding, in vogue in Madras and in Bombay, is the form that is most in consonance with early Hindu ideas of land tenure. As years passed by, and the country became subject to wars and incursions, as well as tribal and local conquests and usurpations, other rights and interests besides those of the actual tiller and cultivator must have been introduced. Local conquests and usurpations must have originated a kind of right in conquest, grant, or natural superiority, different from and superior to that of the right by first clearing. In such a case we have, over and above the actual tiller, a landlord of some kind, the actual cultivator occupying a subordinate place. During the later Hindu rule, and during the Muhammadan rule, the revenue contractors succeeded in securing a position of influence over the cultivators which gradually resulted in their obtaining landlords' rights at the end. While this process of superimposed overlordship was going on, there must have



gone on another process: one of subinfeudation. For various reasons the actual owner of the land, who had acquired it by right of clearing, must find it necessary to secure the aid of outsiders to help in tilling the ground, and in this way, in time, the actual cultivator must have become differentiated from the real proprietor.

Where these processes have become complete we notice four interests represented, as is the case in Oudh and in some parts of Bengal: (1) The State or Government; (2) an overlord or superior landlord, either artificially created, as in the case of Bengal zemindar, or a zemindar with natural claims by original conquest or grant, as is the case of some of the Oudh taluqdars; (3) the actual proprietors—*i.e.*, those who had acquired the right by original clearing, or the descendants of the same, who do not now engage in cultivating the land; (4) the actual cultivators. Even before the growth of landlords, the process of subinfeudation must have gone on, for the rights of resident cultivators, known as *pycarries* or *ulkudies*, seem to have been recognised from the earliest times along with those of Khoodkhasts. The tendency of early British legislation has been to secure and conserve the interests of the superior landlords, who, strictly speaking, had not the same rights as the actual cultivating holders, if Manu's test of rights in land be taken for our guidance. Wherever the revenue system dealt directly with the actual occupant of the holding, as was the case in ryotwari districts, justice has been done to those who had real claims to the soil; but in districts where overlord interests prevailed the position of the cultivating holders, who had come to be classed as tenants merely, has been neglected considerably. This is, indeed, one of the evils of British legislation. It is true later legislation has tried to make amends for this injustice to the cultivators, but the mischief done by the early legislation, which, by exalting the position of the overlord, had reduced the actual cultivating holders, with varying rights, to one undistinguished group of non-proprietary cultivators,

still remains unremedied. The highest privileges that the tenancy laws have secured for the actual cultivators is the right of occupancy and the privilege of paying rents at certain fixed rates ; but the tenancy laws of no province where overlord rights have been legalized take account of those class of tenants who originally had tangible, if not equally secured, rights in the soil. It is true the tenant law of the Central Provinces recognises what are called "absolute occupancy tenants," with stronger privileges than ordinary occupancy tenants, but even the rights of absolute occupancy tenants do not amount to actual proprietorship. As Indian tenures have undergone changes and growth owing to wars, incursions, tribal and local conquests and usurpations, it is difficult to distinguish tenants with proprietary claims from those with no such claims ; but the later tenant laws are an improvement on the tenant law of Bengal, inasmuch as they attempt to distinguish ex-proprietary tenants from mere tenants-at-will. There cannot be any doubt of the fact that later British legislation favours more the actual cultivators who are tenants than landlords, and this is as it should be ; for though at this distance of time it would be utterly impossible to distinguish ex-proprietary tenants from tenants-at-will, still, British legislation would be more in consonance with Hindu ideas of rights in land if it gave greater privileges to the actual cultivators. We should like also to see greater uniformity in the privileges given to tenants in the different provinces, for tenant rights are not the same in all the provinces. Even after making full allowances for differences in local history, which has affected the tenures in the various provinces, there is room for greater consolidation and equalization of the rights of tenants on some uniform pattern.

Inasmuch as the land-tax furnishes the chief source of Indian revenue, the collection of the land-tax has formed one of the main tasks of Indian administration. The time and attention of India's greatest administrators have been

taken up chiefly with questions of land rights and land revenue, and no part of the work of the British Government has been so well done as that connected with land-revenue administration. It is true mistakes have been committed here and there in Indian land legislation, and interests have suffered in consequence ; but these mistakes have been the result of ignorance of the intricate past history of land rights in India, and British legislation has not been slow to make amends for these mistakes. The question of rights and interests in land in India is a very wide and intricate one, and the best thought of Indian statesmen has been expended on this question, with the result that, notwithstanding the errors committed now and then, British land legislation in India stands as one of the greatest monuments of Great Britain's achievements in the East.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

AMONGST the publications of a general class on Semitic languages, we must mention the "Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique," published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,\* under the supervision of Clermont-Ganneau and Chabot. Five parts, containing 444 various inscriptions (Phœnician, Aramæan, Sabeian, etc.), have already appeared. This very important publication is the complement of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. The aim of this collection is to reunite all the unedited or recently discovered Semitic inscriptions which have not yet appeared in the *Corpus*. In the *Corpus* the inscriptions are classed according to their language and country of origin, but this collection, which is a marvel of typography, is only published at long intervals. It therefore became necessary to have a collection combining the inscriptions according to their discovery. We have to point out, in this collection in particular, the definite position of the Safaitic alphabet by Halévy (a work which has appeared in the *Revue sémitique* in 1902).

The last volume (iv.) of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*,† edited by Cheyne and Sutherland Black, has appeared. The English-speaking public now possess in all two remarkable Biblical encyclopædias, the *Dictionary of the Bible*, by Hastings, having ceased to appear in 1902.

The thirteenth volume of the "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche" (third edition of Hauck) has also been published. This volume (Methodismus in America bis Neuplatonismus) includes numerous archæological articles which treat of Oriental studies.

Amongst the general works on the history of Biblical and Oriental science, we may point out the highly interesting and magnificent volume published by Hilprecht, with the co-operation of several Orientalists, entitled "Explorations in Bible Lands, Assyria, Babylonia, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, and Hittites during the Nineteenth Century."‡ The contents of this work, which is embellished by about 200 illustrations and four maps, is much too copious to make it possible to give even a brief sketch of it in this Report.—Professor Söderblom, of the University of Upsala, has recently published a third German edition, revised and brought up to date, of the *Manuel de l'Histoire des Religions* by Tiele.§ The work of Tiele, whose praise is needless, gives under this new form a

\* Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1900-1903.

† London : Adam and Charles Black, 1903.

‡ Philadelphia : Holman and Co., 1903.

§ Tiele's "Kompendium der Religionsgeschichte." Breslau : Biller, 1903.

short sketch of all religions except Christianity. Mazdeism is the subject of a particularly interesting essay; the works published by Professor Söderblom on this religion constitute the author a special authority on the subject.

We have, on several occasions, announced the scientific publications of importance whose authors are members of the clergy or congregations of French Catholicism. The scientific movement which has started and has continued for some years among French Catholics is truly remarkable. A fresh proof of this is seen in the important work by P. Lagrange, a Dominican, entitled "*Études sur les Religions sémitiques*."\* After having treated, in the introduction, of the origins of religion and mythology, the author discusses successively, in ten chapters, the Semites, the gods, the goddesses (Asherah and Astarte), sanctity and impurity, sacred objects, such as waters, trees, stones, etc., consecrated persons, sacrifice, the dead, and Babylonian and Phœnician myths. In appendices are some celebrated texts (Phœnician inscriptions, etc.). It is impossible for us to analyze a work with such valuable contents; suffice to say that we recommend its perusal. We have one observation to make. In a very interesting and documental fragment on the god *El*, the author supports the very debatable theory that *El*, the primitive and common god of the Semites, was most probably a unique god. The arguments brought forward by P. Lagrange are obscure and ambiguous (compare our study on the same subject published in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* in 1901).

Another general study on the Semitic religion has been published by S. J. Curtiss with the title of "Primitive Semitic Religion of To-day."† The observations on ancient Semitic religion, collected together in this work, are the result of journeys undertaken by the author between the years 1898 and 1901 in Syria, Palestine, and the peninsula of Sinai. Curtiss's book is interesting and suggestive on account of the comparison which he makes between the religious customs of the modern Semites and those the existence of which can be proved or of which traces can be found in old Semitic documents (cuneiform texts, Bible, Quran, etc.). The volume contains some instructive illustrations.

In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*‡ there is an interesting article, with numerous illustrations (useful on account of their scientific value), on the Asherah, by W. Hayes Ward.

#### ASSYRIOLOGY—THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In the collection "Der alte Orient," we have to point out two papers relating to the history of science: "Cuneiform Decipherments" (Die Entzifferung der Keilschrift), by Messerschmidt, and "The Discovery of Nineveh" (Die Wiederentdeckung Nineves), by Zehnfpund.§ We may mention also a second edition, revised and enlarged, of the opusculé by J. Jeremias on "Moses and Hammurabi,"|| which we have noticed before in this *Review*.

\* Paris: Lecoffre, 1903.

† London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.

‡ Chicago, 1902.

§ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.

|| Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.

We earnestly recommend to the reader a well-written production by Lods on "Les découvertes babyloniennes et l'Ancien Testament," which has appeared in the *Revue chrétienne*,\* and which has been reprinted. This affords the reader a very accurate and judicious acquaintance with the recent discoveries made in Babylonia.

The text of the "Code of Hammurabi" has been published in facsimile from photographs, edited by Father Scheil, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*.† It is an advanced reprint from the edition of the Hammurabi Code, which R. F. Harper hopes to have ready shortly. This reprint is very well autographed.

Volume IV. of the "Sainte Bible polyglotte" (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French), published by the Abbé Vigouroux,‡ has appeared. This volume contains the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and the Proverbs of Solomon. Some interesting illustrations (reproductions of the monuments) are added to the text.

The popularization of scientific works, of which the Old Testament is the object, continues with praiseworthy zeal by French Protestantism. This fact we desire to extol, so much the more on account of the initiative we took several years ago.§ Two new works of this kind have appeared, and deserve to be brought to notice. The author of one is the Pasteur Koenig, and is entitled "Histoire sainte d'après les résultats acquis de la critique historique" (Old Testament).|| The other is by the Pasteur Fulliquet, and is called "L'Ancien Testament à l'école du dimanche."¶ The clergymen who take very great trouble to write manuals of this kind, and place them within reach of the religious public, from different dogmatic points of view, and from the principal results of Biblical criticism, render a real service to the cause of science as well as to the Church.

We have to point out in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*,\*\*\* as also in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*,†† a series of articles by Haupt: "The Poetic Form of the First Psalm," "Isaiah's Parable of the Vineyard," "Bible and Babel," etc.

From Italy we must mention several valuable works relating to Biblical science: in the first place, two studies by Professor F. Scerbo, one on the Old Testament and modern criticism (Il vecchio Testamento e la critica odierna),‡‡ the other on the passage of Isaiah lxiii. 9 (Nuovo saggio di critica biblica).§§ In these opuscles, particularly in the former, the author, in treating the different questions put in regard to the Old Testament (textual criticism, local criticism, characters of Hebrew poetry, aid of Assyriology, etc.), has taken care to avoid the excesses of an arbitrary criticism. The author studies with perfect competency and moderation every kind of problem which arises in the Old Testament.

\* Paris, 1903.

† Chicago, October, 1903.

‡ Paris: Roger et Chernoviz, 1903.

§ E. Montet, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, manuel destiné à l'enseignement religieux élémentaire. Geneva: Eggimann, 1896 (2nd edition, 1899).

|| Paris: Fischbacher, 1903.

¶ Lyon: Rey, 1903.

\*\* Chicago, 1903.

†† Baltimore, 1903.

‡‡ Florence: Ariani, 1902.

§§ Florence: Libreria editrice fiorentina, 1903.

It is certain that in the face of arbitrary exegesis and the extraordinary hypothesis of some Hebraists (Cheyne, for example, in his "*Crítica Biblica*")\* there is reason to distrust Biblical criticism, and to question the errors which they make.

The most important work that has been published in Italy as regards Biblical studies is the volume by Pasteur T. André, of Florence, entitled "*Les Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament*."† The author has presented this volume as a thesis of doctorship in theology at the University of Geneva. It is a work remarkable for the erudition and scientific spirit in which it is written, and for its clearness and preciseness. The author studies in a complete manner all the Apocryphas of the Septuagint version; it is an authoritative introduction to the Apocryphal literature of the Old Testament. No similar book had ever existed in the French language.

The "*Talmud of Babylon*" (text and German translation), by L. Goldschmidt, continues to appear very regularly. The last part which has come to hand is the fifth part of the seventh volume; its subject, *Aboda Zara*.‡

#### ARABIC—ISLAM.

Professor Grunert, of Prague, has rendered a great service to all those who teach Arabic, in universities or elsewhere, by publishing a chrestomathy with an Arabic-German dictionary, of which the first part only has, as yet, been published, entitled "*Arabische Lesestücke*."§ This first part includes some fragments of the Bible. The succeeding parts will contain pieces of Arabic prose, poetry (both before and after Muhammad), extracts from the Quran, and finally, in the latter part, pieces containing the grammar and dictionary and inscriptions.

The study of Arabic dialects increases in importance day by day, a fact easily understood at a time when Europe is taking more and more possession of Arabic-speaking countries, and when scholars enter more deeply into the study of the great centres of the Arabs. We have also the pleasure of introducing to our readers the scholarly work published on "*Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*"|| by W. Marçais, the director of the madrasa of Tlemcen, the indefatigable Orientalist, many of whose important works we have before announced. The work includes: (1) A grammar; (2) a series of texts in prose and poetry, to which the author has added some studies on prosody and of folk-lore; (3) a lexicon. What is interesting about the dialect of Tlemcen is that it differs greatly both from the Moroccan and the dialects of Tunis and Tripoli. The book is of a very high scientific character (which is not always the case with the published works on Arabic dialects). Amongst the text in verse quoted by Marçais the most interesting are the *haufi* (حوفي). At Tlemcen *haufi* is the

\* *Vide* in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* the article we have published on the "*Crítica Biblica*," 1903.

† Florence: Paggi, 1903.

‡ Berlin: Calvary, 1903.

§ Prague: Neugebauer, 1903.

|| Paris: Leroux, 1902 ("*Publications de l'Ecole des Lettres d'Alger*").

name of a popular song, almost always a love song, preferred by all the young men and women. It is in a *haufi* that the following praise of Tlemcen is to be read, and in which allusion is made to the time when this town was the capital of the Benî-Zeiyān :

“Tlemcen, great city, how a sojourn within thee is sweet !  
There is found the turtle-dove, the pigeon, and the Sultan.  
We also find the sacred Quran recited by the young.”

One must know the history of Tlemcen, and, above all, have visited this town, so surprising by its monuments, in order to understand all its charm. The above-mentioned Mr. W. Marçais and his brother, Mr. G. Marçais, were also well inspired by publishing a very fine and instructive work on the Arabic monuments of Tlemcen.\* This publication we recommend to artists and to amateurs of Arabic art ; they will find therein some valuable information and a well-illustrated study on the famous Arab architecture of Tlemcen. We may also mention a late work by Mr. W. Marçais on six interesting Arabic inscriptions of the Museum of Tlemcen.†

As Tlemcen to Morocco is but a stone's-throw, we will speak of Morocco. While awaiting the publication, which has been announced, of the journeys that Doutté has recently undertaken in that country, we may mention a “*Géographie générale du Maroc*,”‡ by J. Canal, published by the Geographical Society of Oran. The author has included in this work all the information about Morocco we are possessed of, more particularly as regards the more recent journeys. A large number of maps and plans facilitate the understanding of the text.

Under “*Les Confréries musulmanes*,”§ notably on those met with in Turkish countries, Father L. Petit, of the Augustine Order at Constantinople, has written an interesting pamphlet, which we have pleasure in mentioning. Literature on the Musulman religious orders increases daily, but, notwithstanding, we are still in a period of inquiry ; the day has yet to come when it will be possible to write a general and well-informed work on the Musulman propaganda and of the Orders in the Muhammadan world.

There are two good popular works by Professor Pizzi of Turin, one on Islamism (*L'Islamismo*),|| the other on Arabic literature (*Letteratura araba*),¶ both of which we can recommend to the Italian public. Orientalists who take the trouble to make known to the public at large the results of Orientalist science, and initiate them in the history and the literature, etc., of the Oriental world, have a right to all our encouragements and congratulations.

The “*Mille et une nuits*,” that admirable collection of Arabic literature, continues to be the subject of works of the highest value. The “*Mille et une nuits*” is really a unique and inexhaustible treasure. The last part of the

\* Paris : Fontemoing, 1903 (“Publié sous les auspices du Gouvernement général de l'Algérie”).

† *Bulletin archéologique*. Paris, 1902 (reprinted 1903).

‡ Paris : Challamel, 1902.

§ Paris : Bloud, 1902.

|| Milan : Hoepli, 1903.

¶ *Idem*.



"Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes,"\* by Chauvin, is still devoted to their study. The indefatigable and learned Orientalist has concluded, in this issue, the admirable labour of erudition, science, perspicuity, and minute observation which he devoted to the "Mille et une nuits." The very accurate analysis of the tales and bibliography commences with the story of Sindbad the Sailor, and exhausts the series of tales. An alphabetical index of the tales terminates the volume. After having perused it, one may ask himself, as in the case of the preceding volumes, from which we would have more to glean—the science of Orientalism or that of folk-lore?

It is again with the "Mille et une nuits" that Seybold connects his interesting publication, "Geschichte von Sul und Schumul, unbekannte Erzählung aus Tausend und einer Nacht," text from an unedited MS. by Tubingue and a translation.† But is it certain that it is a matter of a tale of the "Mille et une nuits"? It is open to doubt.

In the collection of "Littératures populaires de tous les pays," Basset has published a charming selection of "Contes populaires d'Afrique."‡ The purpose of the author in this volume is to give a picture of the popular spirit such as has been evident in Africa from the oldest times to the present day. The work is divided into nine parts: Chamitic group (Egyptian, Berber, etc.), Semitic languages, languages of the Nile, the Sudan, Senegambia and Guinea, Hottentot group, and tales of colonial negroes (Ile de France, etc.). One of the most interesting facts which results from the examination of this collection of tales is the influence of Islam, which has been verified in a great number of native stories, written out in non-Musulman languages; this observation is another testimony to the astounding ascendancy in Africa of the religion of Muhammad.

At the time of concluding my Report, I received an interesting historical study by Commandant Lacroix on "Les Derkaoua d'hier et d'aujourd'hui."§ The author concludes with these words on this important Musulman Order: "To sum up, the doctrine of the Derkaoua, which imposes on them abstention from all worldly ambition and the absolute indifference to the good things of the earth, has been at all times the rule generally followed by their adepts both in Algeria and Morocco."

Finally, it is again with the study of Arabic dialects that we connect the interesting work published by Meiszner, "Neuarabische Geschichten aus dem 'Irāq.'"|| The book includes the Arabic text (unfortunately a transcription), the translation, and, which is of great utility, a grammar and glossary of the Arabic dialect of the peasants of Northern 'Irāq.

\* Liege: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1903.

† Leipzig: Spiegatis, 1902.

‡ Paris: Guilmoto, 1903.

§ Algiers: Heintz, 1902 (Documents sur le N. O. africain).

|| Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.

## THE MOSLEM CALL TO PRAYER.

BY HERBERT BAYNES, M.R.A.S.

ACCORDING to the tradition of Islâm, the institution of prayer five times a day was introduced by the great prophets, and these devotional periods are therefore dedicated to them. The Christian may perhaps be led to ask whether such frequent occasions for daily worship may not lead at last to pure formality, and a fettering rather than a freeing of the spirit; but there can be no question either as to the reverence of the worshipper or the intense earnestness of the Mu'azzin's cry: "Come, come! for prayer is better than sleep!" Five times comes the call, which no follower of Muhammad can ever resist. They are as follows:

(a) At *daybreak*, when, being cast out of Paradise and falling to the earth, Adam prayed. Finding himself enveloped in darkness, he could not but thank God for the first gray streaks of dawn when they appeared upon the horizon.

(β) At *mid-day*, when Noah prayed, having got safely with his family into the ark.

At *mid-day*, also, Abraham was thrown by Nimrod into the fiery oven, when by prayer the furnace was changed into a garden of roses.

(γ) In the *afternoon* Moses gave thanks to God when he had safely crossed the Red Sea with the Israelites.

(δ) In the *evening* the Lord Jesus prayed upon the cross and committed His Spirit to God.

(ε) At *night* all the other prophets prayed—Joseph in the pit; Jonah in the whale; Zachariah as he was being torn to pieces; Shueb, Moses' father-in-law; Hud, the wind-maker; the Seven Sleepers, etc.; last of all Muhammad, when in a vision he saw his people in hell, and made intercession for them.

During the month of Ramazân, the season of the great Musalmân fast, a hymn of praise is sung before the morning prayer in which the prophets are invoked seriatim. The following is a literal interpretation of the hymn:

Honour and peace be to thee!  
 Thou, our lord (*Adam*), thou holy one of God.  
 Honour and peace be to thee!  
 Thou, our lord (*Noah*), thou saved of God.  
 Honour and peace be to thee!  
 Thou, our lord (*Abraham*), thou friend of God.  
 Honour and peace be to thee!  
 Thou, our lord (*Moses*), thou spokesman of God.

Honour and peace be to Thee !  
 Thou, our Lord (*Jesus*), Thou Spirit of God.  
 Honour and peace be to thee !  
 Thou, our lord (*Muhammad*), thou who art sent by God !

To those unacquainted with the Semitic languages—Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac—it is impossible to fully realize the dignity and majesty of the original. The proclamation of the Shma, the Mu'azzin's call to prayer, the recitation of the Syriac Creed—all lose greatly in translation. Nevertheless, it is surely well that one should attempt, as Dr. Lepsius has done for his mother-tongue, to render these sonorous utterances into English, an idiom which seems destined to become the great world-speech. In the following poetic interpretation of the daily call to prayer I have amplified the eight Arabic words at the end of each verse :

The gloaming goes, the sun is set,  
 A weary world sinks down to rest,  
 As, on the lofty minaret,  
 A voice is calling from the crest ;  
 And ev'ry Moslem list'ning stands,  
 With drooping head and folded hands,  
 To hear the proclamation sweet :  
 " God only, and His paraclete !"

Lā ilāha ill' Allāh  
 Muhammad ar Rasulullāh !

Scarce tints the early morning's ray  
 The sleeper's face with rosy light,  
 When suddenly he cries : " The night  
 Is going, I must go. The way  
 To wake to life is prayer." Then rise,  
 O slumb'ring world, to worship ! hear  
 The earnest call with holy fear,  
 And, praying, think thou in this wise :  
 " God only, and His mercy mild,  
 And Adam is His holy child !"

Lā ilāha ill' Allāh,  
 Yā Adam Safiullāh !

And as the scorching summer sun,  
 In flooding all with noonday heat,  
 Beholds the Moslems fall to prayer  
 Beneath the great, high altar-stair,

The crier climbs with willing feet,  
And calls: "There is no God but One,  
And, as upon your knees ye bend,  
Think: Abraham is aye God's friend!"

Lā ilāha ill' Allāh,  
Yā Ibrāhīm Khalilullāh!

Behold the orb of day decline,  
The shadows lengthen on the wall,  
Still from the witness-tower the call  
To ev'ry Hanīf comes: "Resign  
Thy work, and come forthwith to prayer;  
For, lo! the King of kings is there  
Within the mosque, above the sky,  
At Mecca, and in boundless space;  
All things shall perish save His face,  
Know this: ask not the reason why.  
The God of Islām's One, the same  
Whom Moses did with power proclaim!"

Lā ilāha ill' Allāh  
Yā Mūsā Kalimullāh!

The quiet night shuts softly down  
On mosque and glowing minaret;  
That clarion-voice is calling yet.  
Not sleep, but prayer, is best to crown  
The efforts of the day. Then pray  
Beneath the silent stars, and say:  
"There aye shall be but one eternal Word,  
And Jesus is the Spirit of the Lord!"

Lā ilāha ill' Allāh  
Yā Isā Rūhullāh!

## THE AGE OF THE AVESTA FROM THE CRITICAL POINT OF VIEW.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D.

TRADITIONALISM seems to be rampant just at this moment upon the question of the age of the Avesta. Here is really the richest lore of antiquity for Biblical exegesis,\* and for the history of our religion, but it is helplessly left drifting at the gusts of petty interests, while rational discussion is fairly swamped by the historical rivalries of cliques, together with a boycotting system which is as foolish as it is degraded. All that we hear about it is that some hold to an East-Iran origin of the Zoroastrian lore and to a remoter age for it—say, to 900 B.C. or 1200—while the effective reasons which induced these early opinions of the critical school have not been stated nor understood. But they might have been given in a very few words; they are as follows. The East of Iran is preferred by the critical school not at all so much on account of the throng of Eastern names in the first chapter of the Vendidad. These are all Eastern but the central Ragha, and the occurrence of them imperatively calls for explanation, notwithstanding their later linguistic forms; but they are not decisive for the East.

The reason why we prefer the East is *on account of the Veda*, and, indeed, of the *Rk*. The original home of the Gāthic people was probably East-Iran, because the Gāthic language is almost Vedic, which flourished Eastwards or South-eastwards, and the Gāthas are like a very counter-book to some parts of the old Veda. They seem almost like the work of some sublime arch-heretic; and counter-Gāthas, now for ever lost, must have once hurled back the curses of Zarathushtra very nearly in his own most furious terms. The Gāthic-Zend, as all experts will hold

\* No question in religious literature ought to be accorded such an interest as that of the age of the Avesta, for upon it depends the source of all our Christian eschatology, as well as that of the Exile and that of the Pharisees.

with me, is not only nearly Vedic, but the Indian and the Iranian mythologies are closely similar—indeed, almost identical, so far as the Iranian extends. But, most striking of it all, we actually possess one of the oldest and most beautiful of the Vedic metres\* in our Gātha hymns. Next to the discovery of the Vedic language in the books of Iran, this is the most astonishing particular that we have yet met with, and it should never cease to have its stimulating effect upon our attention, awaking our fervid interest whenever we reflect upon the gems which lie before us in the surviving fragments of the lore. There is little in other studies to compare with it.†

In the meantime an acute sense of the practical bearing of it all follows us at every step.

This presence of Vedic metres in the Gāthas of itself renders certain their connection, however remote, with their sister Indian pieces. It is, indeed, possibly conceivable (for are not all things possible?) that a Zoroaster of the year One in Iran, whether in the East or West (and far more rationally in the East than in the West), should have consciously sat down and worked up his fiery hymns with elaborate counterfeit, forging the expressions of unfelt feelings, and lying at every line; but this would be only conceivable as an intellectual miracle.

Could, then, a supernatural interference have taken place for the purpose of inspiring an Iranian priest to imitate the melodies of a creed abhorred? these stolen chants being also distinctly regarded as sacred things, not to speak of the almost laughable supposition that an Iranian in A.D. One had ever heard of the Rk, save by distant rumour, or by special accident. Not so, however, of the real Zoroaster of rational date; the chorus of future Indian hymns, or of those closely kindred to them, must have sounded in his very ears.

\* The Trishtup.

† I have lately compared it, when addressing pupils, to a conceivable discovery of Greek metres in some ancient Scandinavian fragments.

While, on the other hand, the view that the hymns dated from A.D. One, and were not yet artificially fabricated, but, on the contrary, actually the expressions of the passions of a then transpiring episode, scarcely deserves a word; and I am not so sure that such an idea was ever really intended to be conveyed. That the Gāthic conflict really took place in West Iran and in the year One seems amusing in the extreme to an expert. It was a struggle between Mazda-worshippers and Daēva-worshippers nearly related to the Deva-worshippers of India, present, past, or future. The terms are fierce, fervent, and pure Iranian, even to the proper names, and this when Zend had been dead for centuries. But not to pause too long just here, let me state at once the view of a critical school; and I sincerely hope that I may not give offence to any of my greatly more distinguished colleagues who may range themselves on the other side.

A scheme of biographical detail, founded upon tradition which itself has not been tested by critical scrutiny, seems to us to be *ipso facto* void of all historical sense. As is known, I have personally worked more upon tradition as it appears in the traditional exegesis of the old Avesta than any other person, and I do not know that my most mortal opponent finds any fault with my procedure. It has been, indeed, an "immense labour,"\* and an "erstaunliches Ergebniss"† fast enough; and yet the more deeply I have mined, the more profound has become my contempt for a tradition as such. Traditional opinions in exegesis must themselves come under criticism, and this as if before a judge, and not as a mere credulity. As nature abhors a vacuum, so does criticism abhor a hearsay. And if there is one sphere where our poor humanity reveals itself as feeble, it is its gullibility about ancient things called history

\* Darmesteter was so kind as to say an "immense labeur scientifique indispensable" (see the *Revue Critique*, September 18, 1893).

† Justi, "Das Ergebniss einer erstaunlichen Arbeit sehr mannigfaltiger Art . . . unser Verständniss der Gāthas mächtig gefördert": *Göttingische, G. Anz.*, Mai, 13, 1893.

and about religion. Criticism looks remorselessly at documents and at other facts, and at them alone. Its one evidence is internal, for as to secondary proofs, these in their turn must be weighed with unflinching scrutiny.

No dreams are listened to at all where the ring of truth is absent.

In the Gāthas we see also no trace of a widely wandering prophet, though in the later Avesta books he might be anything, for the later Avesta, though rich in poetic imagery, is unanimously known to abound in myths. Valuable (let me not be mistaken) and to the last degree full of interest, but not at all as history, save here and there by inference. In the Gāthas, on the contrary, we see an eager group of princely persons passionately engaged in a religious and military struggle, and Zarathushtra is absolutely one with them.

His name is one of the familiar names of families. He was "Sorrel-camels," just as Frashaoshtra was "Fleet-camels," as Vīstāspa was "Horse-owner," as Jāma-aspa was "Close-bred-horses," and the Haechataspas were "Stud-horses"—that is to say, "Renowned for such animals," "From the great horse-ranch," "From such and such a camel-ranch." Ushtra "camel" and Aspa "horse" terminated names everywhere, as "horse" and "steed" and "ox" enter into words with us. There is absolutely no hint of foreign origin—his daughter married a Jāmāspa—nor, indeed, is there any trace of foreign wanderings, for Yasna xlvi. 1, 2 refer to wanderings within the narrow limits of his fatherland. His movements were largely military, for his "men were few," he said, and his commissariat were cattle.\* The Gāthas even give us some home scenes (see the marriage hymn in Yasna liii.). Prophets do not, as a rule, wander, and over half a continent. Mahomet's flight was forced, and it was for not so very far away; nor did Buddha, a thousand years before him, journey so wide afield. Yet each of these started

\* See Y. xlvi. 2.



new ideas, some of them flagrantly striking and on one side popular, while Zarathushtra's were on matters that were not sensational, though new both in their point and in their intensity. It was the *lore* that travelled in the persons of disciples; this spread widely, as I freely own. The view that Zarathushtra was born West of the Caspian and migrated to Bactria (!) may commend itself to others; to me it seems to be an hypothesis bereft of critical acumen. Z. was a princely priest and a soldier, one of a local group struggling fiercely in a bloody religious petty war to defend, recover, or acquire the throne for his kinsman Vīštāspa. The tradition that Vīštāspa was Z.'s "first disciple" seems to me to be especially jejune—Z. had in all probability no especial first disciple—and it is far more likely that Vīštāspa sustained, if he did not convert, Z. than that Z. converted him. Some might even doubt whether Z. composed the pieces.\* The fire of some earlier genius might well by its after-glow have inspired the entire group, compacting the thoughts of predecessors, for all developments are growths. After all our work it seems discouraging that the plain features of the Gāthic scene should not be recognised. The hymns are old because they are so personal—for as so personal they could not possibly have been forged, nor could they have been genuine history in Iran at A.D. One, and the facts have the sharpest bearing upon their influence upon the Jews, and so later also upon ourselves. Hardly any documents can be shown, early or late, which are more alive with individual sentiment, and few so much so. If any passage in the Gāthas asserted in terms that they were of a certain very ancient date, I, for one, would contemptuously reject the place. We believe that they are old because they disclose in passing, and without intending it, events which were then transpiring, proving them to be materials for history—a history which could only have meaning if the dates were early (see above). "I" and "thou" appear everywhere (see the

\* Though one mind was dominant among them.

entire Y. xxviii. in the first personal from the beginning to the end). "With hands outstretched I beseech . . .," see 1; "Give me for both worlds . . .," 2; "I who weave my song . . .," 3; "I who devote my soul . . .," 4; "O Asha, shall I see thee . . .," 5; "Grant me mighty help that we conquer the hostile movements of the foe (the tormentors' torments) . . .," 6; "Grant that we may hear your manthras . . .," "I pray beseeching for Frashaoshtra and for me . . .," etc., 7, etc. I avoid citations here, as I must give them elsewhere. The eagerness to teach is scarcely more prominent than the wish to crush opponents (see Y. xxxii., and for controversy see xxxi. from 10 on; see the battle scene anticipated in Y. xlv., and the other anticipation of it or of another in xlviii.; see the defeat in xlix.). Even in the wedding song ferocity appears (see Y. liii. 8). These composers wished, of course, first of all to pour out their souls to God, then to sustain their followers by pressing upon them the superiority of Mazda, and absolutely at the same time with this they wished to destroy their enemy. It is amazing that these features have never been distinctly recognised as prominent except by me. See the places everywhere with such expressions as "Hew ye them all with the halberd" in Y. xxxi.; and "Let him rout those deceivers through death's chain the greatest, and swift be the issue!" in Y. liii. 8.

This is why we think the Gāthas ancient: they are so vehement in their rough, sturdy forms. There was no room for them later on when Gāthic ceased to be a speech, because they could not possibly have been made up in an unspoken tongue as the later Sanskrit was. Avesta died away as a vernacular, say, B.C. 300; and the Parthian coins are Pahlavi. All particulars in the Gāthas breathe contemporaneous life. If they were consciously fabricated in a study as an imitation of sentiments which were never felt, they would, considering all their circumstances, seem to us to be one of the most marvellous objects in the history

of falsehood, just as they are now one of the most wonderful when regarded as the truth.

This is the critical point of view. What we see is all that we can believe beside what is thoroughly attested. Our evidence is totally internal, for this applies as well to every particle of outside corroboration. It is not the archaic language in the Gāthas alone which convinces us—that might be used by anyone who was an expert. It is the uncontrollable emotion of the strophes which cannot be mistaken or concealed, and this notwithstanding the obscurities of syntax, for the separate words are simple.\*

The author † was fanatical, doubtless. He seems to have experienced such common cerebral disturbance as afflicts most prophets, and it seems to have induced him to hope for a personal "sight" of his Ahura, and he doubtless, too, thought himself inspired. But aside from these, where is the trace of miracle, that is to say, within the Gāthas? No dragon here threatens the settlements, and no hero slays him. All is simple, ardent, and real. There is an allusion to an ancient myth, ‡ but where is there a sign of a myth-origin? These facts force us to face two of the most deeply interesting of suppositions.

One is that Zarathushtra had never heard of the rich masses of sacred fable, with all their gods and godlets, which appear in the later Avesta; and this is hardly credible, for

\* With few exceptions. I feel somewhat aggrieved even at a recent kind reviewer, see *A. J. P.*, October, 1902, for while treating me well, he will insist upon the wide differences in opinion. So there are innumerable differences in opinion as to the definite point of the detailed application; but as to the actual meanings of the separate words there is in the overwhelming masses of the terms really no difference at all among accredited experts, for to interpret the Gāthas completely after tradition has at present scarcely an accredited advocate. In the entire Y. 28 there is scarcely any longer a doubtful word, and the same may be said of other extended portions. A certain literal translation, which left the terms Asha, etc., in Y. 45 translated without "interpretation," is nearly word for word identical with my Latin verbatim, but with the following "interpretations" left away. And my Latin verbatim was in the writer's hands.

† Or "author's," but I think one personality was dominant.

‡ See Y. xxxii. 8.

it would place him at an almost prehistoric age.\* There is even no Mithra in the Gāthas, and he was one of the very oldest of the Aryan gods. And the other supposition is that he (Z.) thought them all not worth his notice, having worked out a reforming scheme, in the sense of a spiritually religious individual revival. This latter seems to be nearer to the truth, though, of course, his movement was a growth. He had predecessors in his efforts, as all other reformers, late and early, have had before and after him. If Herodotus heard of the later Avesta in the fifth century B.C. (and that he did this is proved by such items as the exposure of the dead), where shall we put the older Avesta? Surely from two to five centuries before the date.

The idea that the Gāthas were influenced by the Gnostics seems especially enfeebled; and the present writer has especial authority to make remarks upon the point, for the author of that suggestion wrote to him, or stated in a review, that it was his statements (those of the present writer) which suggested to him (D.) the connection between the two ideas. It is hardly necessary to say that I saw influence of the Gāthas upon the Gnosis, and not of the Gnosis upon them.

\* If he did not know of them, they could hardly have existed.

## MOROCCO, THE LAND OF PARADOX.

BY ION PERDICARIS.

ONE of the least expected consequences of the recent and still persistent revolt against the Shereefian authority in this country is the extraordinary increase of business activity, not only at Fez, where the Court is established, but even more appreciably here in Tangier, especially in all that appertains to the building trade, a feature all the more notable when we consider the partial or total suspension of all established authority and the consequent sense of general insecurity—an insecurity affecting, it is true, rather native interests than those belonging to Europeans, since the latter still benefit by the long-established immunity they have enjoyed, thanks to the facility with which the Powers represented at the Shereefian Court were enabled to enforce the claims of their subjects or citizens. Now, however, that the Sultan's authority itself is in abeyance, when the agents of the Makhzan are no longer able to levy taxes or punish aggressions, it is really remarkable that, with the single exception of the temporary sequestration of Mr. Walter B. Harris last June, there is scarcely a single case to record of any serious damage sustained by Europeans, always excepting the unfortunate murder of the English missionary, Mr. Cooper, by a Moorish fanatic at Fez, an incident which occurred before Bu Hamara (Jilali El Zarhouni) had raised the standard of revolt at Tazza, and one not absolutely without precedent during the reigns of former Sultans.

Yet even the suspicion of any insecurity affecting not merely the avenues of transit, but constituting a possible menace both to property and even to life, would scarcely seem to constitute a favourable condition for the investment of large sums.

Of course, there are special reasons for this singular

anomaly. First among these are the Sultan's foreign loans. As the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* may remember, Morocco had hitherto resolutely declined to follow the example of the other Muhammadan and Asiatic Powers, having observed how frequently, if not invariably, the borrowing Power, unable to pay the stipulated interest, much less to refund the capital thus acquired, had been deprived, first of the reality of independence, and, finally, even of the semblance. Two years ago Morocco was absolutely free from debt, and owed no foreign Power a penny ; but to-day, thanks partly to the advice of interested persons and partly to the policy of reform, always an expensive luxury, which England counselled, the Shereefian exchequer finds its resources already mortgaged to the hilt, although, as yet, it has been impossible to apply the reformed scheme of taxation, which scheme has been doubtless one of the chief causes of the rebellion of the Berber tribes ; whilst in the attempt to quell the insurrection, the millions which have been borrowed have disappeared without affecting any serious improvement in the Sultan's position. I say advisedly "disappeared," since, despite the considerable outlay entailed by the purchase of munitions of war and the payment of the Sultan's troops, a very large proportion of the sums loaned by England, France, and Spain have melted away, squandered upon the favourites of the hour, or upon one form after another of foolish pastime or of personal indulgence ; whilst, owing to the absence of any intelligent system of financial control, a still larger portion of these loans has never even reached the Shereefian treasury, but has served merely to enrich the more powerful among the Court officials or the foreign intermediaries in the form of extravagant commissions on articles purchased abroad, while still larger sums have been appropriated by collusion between the vendors of supplies and the commission agents of various nationalities—results, in themselves, which have added largely to the Sultan's growing unpopularity. Some of the money thus

deflected is being invested in Fez and also in Tangier, but there is also another cause for the sudden increase of business—viz., the considerable introduction of the new coinage, the mintage of which has been conceded to the merchants of several of the Powers; whilst possibly another and almost equal volume may be accounted for by the illicit coinage, probably not inferior in intrinsic value to the coins which are issued by privileged concessionaries under Government allotment.

Certain it is that more money has been spent at Tangier alone, and larger and better buildings have been erected during the last two years than during the previous thirty years, during which the writer has watched the growth and Europeanization, if one may coin so awkward an expression, of this once entirely Moorish town.

The Sultan's urgent necessity for further supplies is now so imperious that the day is not far distant when he will have to apply to France for the exclusive accommodation, proffered on terms to whose signification his Shereefian Majesty is by no means either blind or indifferent; but what course is open to this well-meaning but unhappy Sovereign, who, having rigorously forbidden the old system of wringing money out of his subjects by extortion, and no longer supported by the friendly Power who so insistently counselled these reforms, is now unable either to return to the old, though evil, system employed by his strong-willed and autocratic predecessors, or to induce his people to adopt the new and far preferable system he is still vainly endeavouring to introduce. Unfortunately, if we are to accept the freely-expressed opinion of his immediate ancestors, the more prosperous the people of his empire become, the more difficult it is to control them; for once they have their *matmoras* well stored with grain, and find themselves able to procure arms, the more certain are they to raise the standard of revolt against any and every authority, be it that of Sultan or Pretender. And in the wide extension of the contraband trade in Mausers from Spain and Win-

chesters from the United States may be discovered another source of that "new wealth" now so generally evident, and which bodes so ill for Mulai Abd-ul-Aziz, whose authority has already been so sadly undermined by the defeats inflicted upon his forces in the mountainous country between Fez and Tazza, in the neighbourhood of his frontier city of Oujdah, which has been repeatedly occupied by rebel forces, and even here, nearer by, at Frajana and before the very gates of Tetuan, which is but a day's ride from Tangier.

Any day, any hour now, may give the Sultan's tottering authority the last fatal push which will send him at last, all unwilling though he be, reeling into the arms of France—of France, whose Government has now been relieved by the defeat of the long despotic control of the "Bloc" during the great debate on the report of the Commission on Foreign Affairs in the Chambers last November, and the Government has thus been left free to follow the policy so clearly and ably set forth by M. Delcassé—the policy of pacific penetration; in other words, the offer of substantial financial assistance on condition that Mulai Abd-ul-Aziz also agrees to accept the control of a resident adviser, who will see that the money loaned is spent upon roads, bridges, railways, and other remunerative or advantageous outlay. Some of it will, of course, be spent—must be spent, indeed—upon rendering the Sultan's own position secure, for his present unpopularity as a ruler, now only suspected of favouring foreign—*i.e.*, English—methods, is as nothing compared to the violent outbreak of patriotic and religious hatred which will break forth when it is known that the independence of one of the last strongholds of Islam has been bartered away against the gold offered by France. The term "pacific penetration" may then require good weight of tempered steel and of lead in order to render the penetration, pacific or otherwise, effective.

In the meantime, to return to our heading, we may still continue to see anarchy amongst the tribes and commercial



prosperity amongst the townfolk marching arm in arm, the country districts alive with the blaze of incendiary fires and the streets of Tangier, at least, so crowded with incoming and outgoing caravans and the narrow gateway of its custom-house so blocked with bales and boxes being landed in ever-increasing profusion from every steamer that appears in the offing, whilst transit becomes a sort of struggle for life, since Morocco, reduced to obedience, was always poor, whilst to-day, all authority being cast to the winds, everyone is free to enrich himself as he best pleases —by honest trade, by the contraband introduction of arms, or even by the honest (?) coinage of silver money, or even coins of baser alloy. And so, *vogue la galère* in Morocco, the land of Paradox.

## SOME NEW FACTS ABOUT MARCO POLO'S BOOK.\*

BY E. H. PARKER.

SEVERAL periodicals have recently busied themselves with collecting the opinions of literary notabilities as to which are in their respective judgments the best worth reading of books in the world. I do not remember ever seeing Colonel Yule's "Marco Polo" mentioned amongst the number, but, surely, of all books this is ideally one of the most fascinating and entertaining. It is eminently fitting, moreover, that the great house of Murray should have been from the beginning associated with a work making such exacting demands upon all the best typographical and intellectual resources of a publisher. In entrusting the elaboration of a third edition to the Professor of Chinese History at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Mr. Murray has probably selected the one man who is pre-eminently fitted, alike by the record of his active career in China and of his literary services in France, for the most competent conduct of the new enterprise.

The frontispiece of this edition, which will probably be the last issued upon the present basis or framework, gives us a charming portrait of the genial soldier and *littérateur* who devoted so much affectionate assiduity to the completion of a life's task. It seems from his Memoir that the world might have enjoyed the fruit of his labours still longer had he not allowed unduly intense application to undermine his health through want of bodily exercise. Marco Polo's own unvarnished tale is enchanting enough in itself, but when this same tale is set out in the gorgeous framing of Henry Yule's learning, wit, patience, research, and humour, it becomes one of the most attractive combinations

\* "The Book of Ser Marco Polo." Third edition, revised by Henri Cordier, with a Memoir of Henry Yule by his daughter. John Murray, 1903.

of travel, history, and miscellaneous information it is possible to conceive, especially as many problems still remain unsolved, and capable of stimulating the inventive energies of all specialists. The published price of three guineas is certainly pretty stiff, but in view of the enormous expenditure incurred in time and money, it cannot be called an excessive demand on the part of the publishers. The number of original, supplementary, and correcting notes is now so overwhelmingly vast that in the next edition the Mr. Murray of the day will probably find it desirable to apply the pruning-knife to the notes upon notes and glosses upon glosses. It is, of course, very interesting to some persons to know what M. Pauthier thought fifty years ago, and how Mr. George Phillips or Dr. Bretschneider criticised Pauthier's views a generation later; but when new facts are definitely brought to light, it is a question sometimes whether it would not suffice to merely record their healthy birth, without entering into details about the successive pains of travail. To "save the honour" of earlier inquirers, it might be simply added that, "thanks to the combined labours of X. Y. Z. and others, it has been ascertained that," etc.

The "Memoir of Sir Henry Yule," which follows the three prefaces, is introduced by a charming sonnet, the work of Colonel Yule's friend Baber who was always particularly happy at composing in this style of poetry, and who, having travelled over much of Marco Polo's ground, always took an extreme interest in the geographical problems raised. The "Bibliography of Sir Henry Yule's Writings," which follows, must make many readers wonder how that prolific writer could have found time, even with his well-known industry, for so much miscellaneous research. It would have been pleasant to record here that a good general map, showing concisely and succinctly the exact range of all Marco Polo's travels, preceded the "Synopsis of Contents"; but no: by some apparent oversight even the handy little map of Central Asia, which

used to appear in the older editions, has not been republished, and we are obliged to follow the narrative with the aid of minor sketch-maps hidden away in unexpected places. What is badly wanted is a good clear chart, marking as closely as possible every single place (1) visited or (2) mentioned by the Venetian, so that the reader may approximately take in all the distances and proportions at a glance, and form in his mind a general "bird's-eye" view of the whole.

It is very satisfactory to notice that a copy of Major Sykes' admirable and timely work on Persia has been placed at the service of M. Cordier. This very excellent book is also published by Mr. Murray, and gives us much first-hand information of the best and most authoritative kind. Nor has the editor been unmindful of the valuable publications issued by the Shanghai Jesuits since the second edition of "*Marco Polo*" was published; not to mention the painstaking researches of Bretschneider, Hirth, Devéria, Chavannes, Palladius, and many others. M. Cordier himself has contributed not a few very valuable historical papers to various Oriental periodicals, and, of course, we also derive full benefit from these when they throw specific light upon the subject editorially in hand. A particularly excellent feature in this third edition is the remarkably copious index, which itself covers fifty-five pages. Some of the additions in the way of illustrations are particularly rare and interesting; but, on the other hand, a few of the old "cuts" might have been omitted without in any way detracting from the value of the book, more especially when they "illustrate" fables and imaginative matter now entirely out of date. In the explanatory notes it is not always easy for a reader—especially for a lazy one—to see at a glance where M. Cordier's own opinion comes in, and how much of the note is quoted from literature or from hearsay. No doubt in due time it will be found expedient (as I have already suggested) to boil down and recast the whole of these notes. Meanwhile, I venture to submit a few notions of my own, in the hope that some of

them may be thought worthy of being pitched into the common crucible of the future.

1. The interesting question of Marco Polo's identity with any of the personages mentioned in the Chinese History of the Mongol Dynasty naturally does not escape M. Cordier's penetration. It is well known that the Manchu Emperor K'ien-lung (1736-1796), who rather "fancied himself" as a philologist, did a great deal of literary damage by "revising" the spelling of all proper names in Tartar records—*i.e.*, in the dynastic histories of the Liao (Cathayan), Kin (Early Manchu), and Yüan (Mongol) houses. This being so, it is necessary to know what edition a man is using before we can fairly blame him for misidentifying a person or place. Perhaps there are a good round hundred of instances in the thus revised *Yüan Shi* (Mongol History) where the name *Puk-lo*, 李羅, and *Poh-lo*, 博羅, occurs, either alone or as forming part of a proper name. Of the sound intended—at least as regards the second—there can be no doubt, for the two last syllables, plus the syllable *Ni*, form the word "Ni-po-lo," or "Nepaul," so that they will stand for either "[Marco] Polo" or "[Marc] Paul." However, it will not in any case do to accept, as M. Cordier seems to follow Yule in doing, Pauthier's particular identification. Colonel Yule's words are: "M. Pauthier has found a record in the Chinese Annals of the Mongol Dynasty which states that in the year 1277 a certain Polo was nominated a second-class commissioner or agent attached to the Privy Council, a passage which we are happy to believe to refer to our young traveller" (Introduction, p. 21). M. Pauthier has apparently overlooked other records, which make it clear that the identical individual in question had already received honours from Kublai many years before Marco's arrival in 1275. Perhaps the best way to make this point clear would be to give all the original passages which bear upon the question. The numbers I give refer to the chapter

and page (first half or second half of the double page) of the *Yüan Shih*:—

A. Chap. 7, p. 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ : 1270, second moon. Kublai inspects a court pageant prepared by Puh-lo and others.

B. Chap. 7, p. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ : 1270, twelfth moon. The *yü-shih chung-ch'eng* (censor) Puh-lo made also President of the *Ta-sz-nung* department. One of the ministers protested that there was no precedent for a censor holding this second post. Kublai insisted.

C. Chap. 8, p. 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ : 1275, second moon. Puh-lo and another sent to look into the Customs taxation question in Tangut.

D. Chap. 8, p. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ : 1275, fourth moon. The *Ta-sz-nung* and *yü-shih chung-ch'eng* Puh-lo promoted to be *yü-shih ta-fu*.

E. Chap. 9, p. 11 $\frac{2}{3}$ : 1276, seventh moon. The Imperial Prince Puh-lo given a seal.

F. Chap. 9, p. 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ : 1277, second moon. The *Ta-sz-nung* and *yü-shih ta-fu*, Puh-lo, being also *siian-wei-shih* and Court Chamberlain, promoted to be *shu-mih fu-shih*, and also to be *siian-hwei-shih* and Court Chamberlain.

The words *shu-mih fu-shih*, the Chinese characters for which are given on p. 569 of M. Cordier's second volume, precisely mean "Second-class Commissioner attached to the Privy Council," and hence it is clear that Pauthier was totally mistaken in supposing the censor of 1270 to have been Marco. Of course, the Imperial Prince Puh-lo is not the same person as the censor, nor is it clear who the (1) pageant and (2) Tangut Puh-los were, except that neither could possibly have been Marco, who only arrived in May—the third moon—at the very earliest.

In the first moon of 1281 some gold, silver, and bank-notes were handed to Puh-lo for the relief of the poor. In the second moon of 1282, just before the assassination of Achmed, the words "Puh-lo the Minister" (*ch'eng-siang*) are used in connection with a case of fraud. In the seventh moon of 1282 (after the fall of Achmed) the "Mongol man Puh-lo" was placed in charge of some gold-washings in certain towns of the then Hu P'eh (now in Hu Nan). In the ninth moon of the same year a commission was sent to take official possession of all the gold-yielding places in Yün Nan, and Puh-lo was appointed *darugachi* (= governor) of the mines. In this case it is not explicitly

stated (though it would appear most likely) that the two gold superintendents were the same man ; if they were, then neither could have been Marco, who certainly was no "Mongol man." Otherwise there would be a great temptation to identify this event with the mission to "*una città, detta Carazan*" of the Ramusio text.

There is, however, one man who may possibly be Marco, and that is the Poh-lo who was probably with Kublai at Chagan Nor when the news of Achmed's murder by Wang Chu arrived there in the third moon of 1282. The Emperor at once left for Shang-tu (*i.e.*, K'ai-p'ing Fu, north of Dolonor), "and ordered the *shu-mih fu-shi* Poh-lo [with two other statesmen] to proceed with all speed to Ta-tu (*i.e.*, to Cambalu). On receiving Poh-lo's report, the Emperor became convinced of the deceptions practised upon him by Achmed, and said :—'It was a good thing that Wang Chu *did* kill him.'" In 1284 Achmed's successor is stated (chap. 209, p. 9½) to have recommended Poh-lo, amongst others, for minor Treasury posts. The same man (chap. 209, p. 12½) subsequently got Poh-lo appointed to a salt superintendency in the provinces ; and as Yang-chou is the centre of the salt trade, it is just possible that Marco's "governorship" of that place may resolve itself into this.

There are many other Puh-lo and Poh-lo mentioned, both before Marco's arrival in, and subsequently to Marco's departure in 1292 from, China. In several cases (as, for instance, in that of P. Timur) both forms occur in different chapters for the same man ; and a certain Tartar named "Puh-lan Hi" is also called "Puh-lo Hi." One of Genghis Khan's younger brothers was called Puh-lo Kadei. There was, moreover, a Cathayan named Puh-lo, and a Naiman Prince Poh-lo. Whether "Puh-lo the Premier" or "one of the Ministers," mentioned in 1282, is the same person as "Poh-lo the *ts'an-chêng*," or "Prime Minister's assistant" of 1284, I cannot say. Perhaps, when the whole *Yüan Shi* has been thoroughly searched throughout in all its editions, we may obtain more certain information.

Meanwhile, one thing is plain : Pauthier is wrong, Yule is wrong in that particular connection ; and M. Cordier gives us no positive view of his own. The other possibilities are given above, but I scarcely regard any of them as probabilities. On p. 99 of his Introduction Colonel Yule manifestly identifies the Poh-lo of 1282 with Marco ; but the identity of his title with that of Puh-lo in 1277 suggests that the two men are one, in which case neither can be Marco Polo. On p. 422 of vol. i. Yule repeats this identification in his notes. I may mention that much of the information given in the present article was published in vol. xxiv. of the *China Review* two or three years ago. I notice that M. Cordier quotes that volume in connection with other matters, but this particular point does not appear to have caught his eye.

As matters now stand, there is a fairly strong presumption that Marco Polo is *once* named in the Annals ; but there is no irrefragable evidence ; and in any case it is only this once, and not as Pauthier has it.

2. The statements about Tibet upon p. 76 of vol. ii. are somewhat lacking in completeness, and that most scrupulous inquirer, Dr. Bretschneider (who informed me that he obtained much of his information from the Chinese Annals second-hand through Palladius), has not quoted quite fully, or it may possibly be quite accurately. The following notes may be interesting : In 1251 Ho-êrh-t'ai was appointed to the command of the Mongol and Chinese forces advancing on Tibet (T'u-fan). [In my copy of the *Yüan Shih* there is no entry under the year 1254 such as that mentioned by Bretschneider ; it may, however, have been taken by Palladius from some other chapter.] In 1268 Mang-ku-tai was ordered to invade the Si-fan (outer Tibet), and Kien-tu [Marco's Caidu] with 6,000 men. Bretschneider, however, omits Kien-tu, and also omits to state that in 1264 eighteen Si-fan clans were placed under the superintendence of the *an-fu-sz* (governor) of An-si Chou, and that in 1265 a reward was given to the troops of the decachiliarch



Hwang-li-t'a-rh for their services against the T'u-fan, with another reward to the troops under Prince Ye-suh-pu-hwa for their successes against the Si-fan. Also that in 1267 the Si-fan chieftains were encouraged to submit to Mongol power, in consequence of which A-nu-pan-ti-ko was made Governor-General of Ho-wu and other regions near it. Bretschneider's next item after the doubtful one of 1274 is in 1275, as given by Cordier, but he omits to state that in 1272 Mang-ku-tai's eighteen clans and other T'u-fan troops were ordered in hot haste to attack Sin-an Chou, belonging to the Kien-tu prefecture; and that a post-station called Ning-ho Yih was established on the T'u-fan and Si Ch'wan [= Sz Ch'wan] frontier. In 1275 a number of Princes, including Chi-pi T'ie-mu-r, and Mang-u-la, Prince of An-si, were sent to join the Prince of Si-p'ing [Kublai's son] Ao-lu-ch'ih in his expedition against the T'u-fan. In 1276 all Si-fan bonzes (lamas) were forbidden to carry arms, and the T'u-fan city of Hata was turned into Ning-yüan Fu [as it now exists]; garrisons and civil authorities were placed in Kien-tu and Lo-lo-sz [the Lolo country]. In 1277 a Customs station was established at Tiao-mên and Li Chou [Ts'ing-k'î Hien in Ya-chou Fu] for the purposes of T'u-fan trade. In 1280 more Mongol troops were sent to the Li Chou region, and a special officer was appointed for T'u-fan [Tibetan] affairs at the capital. In 1283 a high official was ordered to print the official documents connected with the *süan-wei-sz* [governorship] of T'u-fan. In 1288 six provinces, including those of Sz Ch'wan and An-si, were ordered to contribute financial assistance to the *süan-wei-shi* [governor] of U-sz-tsang [the indigenous name of Tibet proper]. Every year or two after this, right up to 1352, there are entries in the Mongol Annals amply proving that the conquest of Tibet under the Mongols was not only complete, but fully narrated; however, there is no particular object in carrying the subject here beyond the date of Marco's departure from China. There are many mentions of Kien-tu (which name dates from the

Sung Dynasty) in the *Yüan-shih*; it is the Kien-ch'ang Valley of to-day, with capital at Ning-yüan, as clearly marked on Bretschneider's map. Baber's suggestion of the *Chan-tui* tribe of Tibetans is quite obsolete, although Baber was one of the first to explore the region in person. A petty tribe like the *Chan-tui* could never have given name to *Caindu*; besides, both initials and finals are impossible, and the *Chan-tui* have never lived there. I have myself met Si-fan chiefs at Peking; they may be described roughly as Tibetans *not under* the Tibetan Government. The T'u-fan, T'u-po, or Tubot, were the Tibetans *under Tibetan rule*, and they are now usually styled "Si-tsang" by the Chinese. Yaci [Ya-ch'ih, Ya-ch'ï] is frequently mentioned in the *Yüan-shih*, and the whole of Devéria's quotation given by Cordier on p. 72 appears there [chap. 121, p. 5], besides a great deal more to the point, without any necessity for consulting the *Lei-pien*. Cowries, under the name of *pa-tsz*, are mentioned in both Mongol and Ming history as being in use for money in Siam and Yung-ch'ang [Vociam]. The porcelain coins which, as M. Cordier quotes from me on p. 74, I myself saw current in the Shan States or Siam about ten years ago, were of white china, with a blue figure, and about the size of a Keating's cough lozenge, but thicker. As neither form of the character *pa* appears in any dictionary, it is probably a foreign word only locally understood. Regarding the origin of the name Yung-ch'ang, the discussions upon p. 105 are no longer necessary; in the eleventh moon of 1272 [say about January 1, 1273] Kublai "presented the name Yung-ch'ang to the new city built by Prince Chi-pi T'ie-mu-r." The whole of the notes on Burma need some overhauling, and M. Cordier has evidently not had access to the various papers recently published, which elucidate the subject, on direct evidence taken from the Momein and Yung-ch'ang Annals. Most of this information is in the hands of the Indian Government, to whom application should be made by future editors if they cannot find it elsewhere. Many

of the above facts have been already pointed out in vol. xxiv. of the *China Review*, but M. Cordier seems to have exercised an elastic discretion as to which he would cite.

3. Marco Polo seems to have visited the city of Saba, near Teheran in Persia, and the Castle of the Fire-worshippers or "Cala Ataperistan." It is not impossible that certain unexplained statements in the Chinese records may shed light upon this obscure subject. In describing the Arab conquest of Persia, the Old and New T'ang Histories mention the city of Hia-lah as being amongst those captured; another name for it was *Sam* (according to the Chinese initial and final system of spelling foreign words). A later Chinese poet has left the following curious line on record: "All the priests venerate Hia-lah." The allusion is vague and undated, but it is difficult to imagine to what else it can refer. The term *séng*, or "bonze," here translated "priests," was frequently applied to Nestorian and Persian priests, as in this case.

The same T'ang History, in treating of the Arab conquests of Fuh-lin [or Frank] territory, alludes to the "date and dry fish diet of the Gulf people" mentioned by Yule (vol. i., p. 116; vol. ii., p. 444). The exact Chinese words are: "They feed their horses on dried fish, and themselves subsist on the *hu-mang*," or Persian date, as Bretschneider has explained.

There seems to be no doubt that Kerman in South Persia is the city to which the Kara-Cathayan refugee fled from China in 1124; for Major Sykes, in his recent excellent work on Persia, actually mentions the Kuba Sabz, or "Green Dome," as having been (until destroyed in 1886 by an earthquake) the most conspicuous building, and as having also been the tomb of the Kara-Khitai Dynasty. The late Dr. Bretschneider (*N. China B. R. As. Soc. Journal*, vol. x., p. 101) had imagined the Kara-Cathayan capital to be Kerminé, lying between Samarcand and Bokhara (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for December, 1900, "The Cathayans"). Colonel Yule does not appear

to be quite correct when he states (p. 232) that "the Gurkhan himself is not described to have extended his conquests into Persia," for the Chinese history of the Cathayan or Liao Dynasties distinctly states that at Samarcand, where the Cathayan remained for ninety days, the "King of the Mohammedans" brought tributes to the emigrant, *who then went West as far as K'i-r-man*, where he was proclaimed Emperor by his officers. This was on the fifth day of the second moon in 1124, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and he then assumed the title of *Koh-r-han*.

With reference to the "Pashai" country of Marco Polo, somewhere in the Swat - Cashmeer direction, neither Colonel Yule nor M. Cordier appears to have hit (vol. i., p. 165) upon any Chinese confirmation; yet the Chinese Toba Dynasty History mentions, in company with Samarcand, *K'a-shi-mih* (Cashmeer), and Kapisa, a State called *Pan-shê*, as sending tribute to North China along with the Persian group of States. This name *Pan-shê* 半社 does not, to the best of my belief, occur a second time in any Chinese record.

Marco Polo mentions a metal called *tutia*, found both in Cobinan (Persia) and Cambay (Guzerat). On pp. 126, 127 of the first volume M. Cordier embodies the latest confirmatory information gathered by Major Sykes and others. It seems that the word is "the Arabicized word *dūdā*, being Persian for 'smokes.'" There can be little doubt that we have direct confirmation of this in the Chinese words *t'ou-t'ieh* (still, I think, in use) and *t'ou-shih*, meaning "t'ou-iron" and "t'ou-ore." The character *T'ou* 鈎 does not appear in the old dictionaries; its first appearance is in the History of the Toba (Tungusic) Dynasty of North China. This History first mentions the name "Persia" in A.D. 455 (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1903, p. 160), and the existence there of this metal, which, a little later on, is also said to come from a State in the Cashmeer region. K'ang-hi's seventeenth-century dictionary is more

explicit : it states that Termed produces this ore, but that "the true sort comes from Persia, and looks like gold, but on being heated it turns carnation, and *not* black." As the Toba Emperors added 1,000 new characters to the Chinese stock, we may assume this one to have been invented for the specific purpose indicated.

The *Yüan Shi* contains curious confirmation of the facts which led up to Marco Polo's conducting a wife to Argon of Persia, who (Introduction, p. 23) lost his spouse in 1286. In the eleventh moon of that year (say January, 1287) the following laconic announcement appears : "T'a-ch'a-r Hu-nan ordered to go on a mission to A-r-hun." It is possible that Tachar and Hunan may be two individuals, and, though they probably started overland, it is probable that they were in some way connected with Polo's first and unsuccessful attempt to take the girl to Persia.

It is, of course, always interesting to find in the *Yüan Shi* any confirmation, however slight, of Marco Polo's stories. Touching the conquest of the Mulahida, or Assassins, by Hulagu in 1256, a note on p. 146 of vol. i. says : "But an army had been sent long in advance under 'one of his Barons,' Kitabuka Noyan, and in 1253 it was already actively engaged in besieging the Ismailite fortresses." The *Yüan Shi* tells us that in 1222, on his way back, after the taking of Nishapur, Tuli, son of Genghis, plundered the State of Mu-la-i, captured Herat, and joined his father at Talecan. In 1229 the King of Mu-lei presented himself at the Mongol Court. I also find the following statement on p. 4 of chap. 3 of the Mongol Annals : "In the seventh moon [1252] the Emperor ordered K'i-t'ah-t'êh Pu-ha to carry war against the Ma-la-hi." The connection of events is obvious, and the irregularities of spelling are quite normal.

4. To judge by the information given on pp. 245 and 248, it would appear that Colonel Yule and his editors have never been quite clear as to exactly where Genghis Khan died, and at what age. Gaubil's statement that he was

wounded in 1212 by a stray arrow, which compelled him to raise the siege of Ta-t'ung Fu, is exactly borne out by the *Yüan Shih*, which adds that in the seventh moon (August) of 1227 (shortly after the surrender of the Tangut King) the conqueror died at the travelling-palace of the Ha-la T'u on the Sa-li *stream* at the age of sixty-six (sixty-five by our reckoning). As less than a month before he was present at Ts'ing-shui (lat.  $34\frac{1}{2}$ , long.  $106\frac{1}{2}$ ), and was even on his dying bed, giving instructions how to meet the Nüchên army at T'ung-kwan (lat.  $34\frac{1}{2}$ , long.  $110\frac{1}{4}$ ), we may assume that the place of his death was on the Upper Wei River near the frontiers joining the modern Kan Suh and Shen Si provinces. It is true the Sa-li *River* (not stream) is thrice mentioned, and also the Sa-lê-chu River, both in Mongolia; on the other hand, the Sa-li Ouigours are frequently mentioned as living in West Kan Suh; so that we may take it the word *Sali* or *Sari* was a not uncommon Turkish word. Palladius' identification of *K'i-lien* with "Kerulen" I am afraid cannot be entertained. The former word frequently occurs in the second century B.C., and is stated to be a second Hiung-nu (Turkish) word for "sky" or "heaven." At or about that date the Kerulen was known to the Chinese as the Lu-kü River, and the geographies of the present dynasty clearly identify it as such. The T'ien Shan are sometimes called the K'i-lien Shan, and the word *k'i-lien* is otherwise well established along the line of the Great Wall.

A few words upon the Mongol imperial family may be useful. Marco Polo is correct in a way when he says Kublai was the sixth Emperor, for his father Tuli is counted as a *Divus* (Jwei-tsung), though he never reigned; just as his son Chinkin (Yü-tsung) is also so counted, and under similar conditions. Chinkin was appointed to the *chung-shu* and *shu-mih* departments in 1263. He was entrusted with extensive powers in 1279, when he is described as "heir-apparent." In 1284 Yün Nan, Chagan-jang, etc., were placed under his direction. His death is

recorded in 1285. Another son, Numugan, was made Prince of the Peking region (Pêh-p'ing) in 1266, and the next year a third son, Hukaji, was sent to take charge of Ta-li, Chagan-jang, Zardandan, etc. In 1272 Kublai's son, Mangalai, was made Prince of An-si, with part of Shen Si as his appanage: we have already mentioned this prince in Tibetan affairs. One more son, named Ai-ya-ch'ih, is mentioned in 1284, and in that year yet another, Tukan, was made Prince of Chên-nan, and sent on an expedition against Ciampa. In 1285 Essen Temur, who had received a *chung-shu* post in 1283, is spoken of as Prince of Yün Nan (see notes to p. 80 of vol. ii.), and is stated to be engaged in Kara-jang (Polo's Carazan); in 1286 he is still there, and is styled "son of the Emperor." I do not observe in the Annals that Hukaji ever bore the title of Prince of Yün Nan, or, indeed, any princely title. In 1287 Ai-ya-ch'ih is mentioned as being at Shên Chou (Mukden) in connection with Kublai's "personally conducted" expedition against Nayen. In 1289 one more son, Géukju, was patented Prince of Ning-yüan (Tangut). In 1293 Kublai's *third son*, Chinkin, received a posthumous title, and Chinkin's son Temur was declared heir-apparent to Kublai.

The above are the only sons of Kublai whose names I have noticed in the Annals. In the special table of Princes Namugan is styled Pêh-an (instead of Pêh-p'ing) Prince. Aghrukji's name appears in the table (chap. 108, p. 7), but though he is styled Prince of Si-p'ing, he is not there stated to be a son of Kublai; nor in the note I have supplied touching Tibet is he styled a *hwang-tsz* or "imperial son." In the table Hukaji is described as being in 1268 Prince of Yün Nan, a title "inherited in 1280 by Essen Temur." I cannot discover anything about the other alleged sons in Yule's note (vol. i., p. 361). The Chinese count Kublai's years as eighty, he having died just at the beginning of 1294 (our February); this would make him seventy-nine at the very outside, according to our mode of reckoning, or even seventy-eight if he was born towards

the end of a year, which indeed he was (eighth moon). If a man is born on the last day of the year he is two years old the very next day according to Chinese methods of counting, which, I suppose, include the ten months which they consider are spent in the womb.

5. In his note to vol. i., p. 236, M. Cordier, who seems to have been misled by d'Avezac, confuses the Ch'ih-lêh or T'ieh-lêh (who have been clearly proved to be identical with the Tölös of the Turkish inscriptions) with the much later K'êh-lieh or Keraites of Mongol history; at no period of Chinese history were the Ch'ih-lêh called, as he supposes, *K'î-lê*, and therefore the Ch'ih-lêh of the third century cannot possibly be identified with the K'êh-lieh of the thirteenth. Besides, the "value" of *lêh* is "luck," whilst the "value" of *lieh* is "leet," if we use English sounds as equivalents to illustrate Chinese etymology. It is remarkable that the K'in (Nüchên) Dynasty in its Annals leaves no mention whatever of the Kerait tribe, or of any tribe having an approximate name, although the *Yüan Shi* states that the Princes of that tribe used to hold a Nüchên patent. A solution of this unexplained fact may yet turn up.

On p. 10 of the Introduction M. Cordier contributes an important note embodying Mr. Rockhill's statements about the word *Khakhan*. It is exceedingly interesting to learn that the ancient Hiung-nu—i.e., pre-Turk—title *Shen-yü* (which I speculatively transliterated as *Zenghi* in my "Thousand Years of the Tartars") still existed in the time of the later or Ghuz Turks (A.D. 1000) under the form *Jenüyeh*. Mr. Rockhill's remarks about the title *Khakhan* require supplementing. Of course, the Turks did not use the term before 560 (552 was the exact year), because neither they nor their name "Turk" had any self-assertive existence before then, and until that year they were the "iron-working slaves" of the Jou-jan (Gibbon's Geougen, or supposed Avars). The Khakhan of those last-named Tartars naturally would not allow the petty tribe of Turk to usurp his exclusive and supreme title. But even a century



and a half before this, the ruler of the T'u-kuh-hun nomads had already borne the title of Khakhan, which (the late Dr. Bretschneider agreed with me in thinking) was originally of Tungusic and not of Turkish origin. The T'u-kuh-hun were of the same race as the half-Mongol, half-Tungusic Tobas, who ruled for two centuries over North China. Owing to family squabbles they migrated from the parent stock to the Kokonor region, where, it is commonly believed, they subsequently founded the mixed kingdom later called Tangut by Marco Polo, a full account of which was given in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, April, and July, 1901. The title of Khakhan, in various bastard forms, was during the tenth century used by the Kings of Khoten and Kuche, as well as by the petty Ouigour Kings of Kan Chou, Si Chou, etc.

The quotation from vol. xxv. of the *China Review*, given on p. 148 of vol. ii., about the ancient *Kitan* surrender custom, reproduces the original misprint *Kotan*, which is rather a serious matter, as Khoten or Khotan is almost certainly to be understood; but M. Cordier can scarcely be blamed for an error of the *China Review*, which ceased to exist shortly after that note was published. The ceremony of leading a sheep was insisted on in 926, when the Tungusic-Corean King of Puh-hai (or Manchuria) surrendered, and again in 946, when the puppet Chinese Emperor of the Tsin Dynasty gave in his submission to the Kitans.

The weather-conjuring proclivities of the Tartars (vol. i., pp. 302, 310) are repeatedly mentioned in Chinese history. The High Carts (early Ouigours) and Jou-jan (masters of the Early Turks) were both given this way, the object being sometimes to destroy their enemies. I drew attention to this in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902 ("China and the Avars").

6. The *taiłgan*, or autumn meeting of the Mongols, mentioned on p. 249, vol. i., is probably the *tai-lin*, or autumn meeting, of the ancient Hiung-nu described on p. 10, vol. xx., of the *China Review*. The Kao-ch'ê (= High

Carts, Tölös, or Early Ouigours) and the early Cathayans (Sien-pi) had very similar customs. Heikel gives an account of analogous "Olympic games" witnessed at Urga in the year 1890. The same chapter in the above quoted *China Review* gives numerous instances of marrying mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law amongst the Hiung-nu. The practice was common with all Tartars, as, indeed, is stated by Yule in the note to p. 256. The Mongol word *Tengri* (=Heaven, p. 257) appears also in Hiung-nu times; in fact, the word *shen-yü* is stated to have been used by the Hiung-nu alternatively with *Tengri-kudu* (Son of Heaven).

Mr. Rockhill is quite correct in his Turkish and Chinese dates for the first use of the word *Tatar*, but it seems very likely that the much older eponymous word *T'atun* refers to the same people. The Toba History says that in A.D. 258 the chieftain of that Tartar tribe (not yet arrived at imperial dignity) at a public durbar read a homily to various chiefs, pointing out to them the mistake made by the Hiung-nu (Early Turks) and "T'a-tun fellows" (Early Mongols) in raiding his frontiers. If we go back still further, we find the *After Han History* speaking of the "Middle T'a-tun"; and a scholion tells us *not to pronounce the final "n."* If we pursue our inquiry yet further back, we find that *T'ah-tun* was originally the name of a Sien-pi or Wu-hwan (apparently Mongol) Prince, who tried to secure the *shen-yü*ship for himself, and that it gradually became (1) a title (2) and the name of a tribal division (see also the *Wei Chi* and the *Early Han History*). Both *Sien-pi* and *Wu-hwan* are the names of mountain haunts, and at this very day part of the Russian Liao-tung railway is styled the "Sien-pi railway" by the native Chinese newspapers.

It has long been known, or at least believed, that the "Tamghadj Khan," quoted by M. Cordier from Abulfeda (vol. ii., p. 154), is the Tangast of Theophylactus, and the *T'ao-hwa-sz* of the Chinese, who have themselves plainly recorded that the people of Turkestan so called them (see

*Historical Review*, July, 1896). Dr. Bretschneider has also called attention to this word, which often appears as *Tabgaz* in the recently deciphered Turkish inscriptions; but it has yet to be explained *why* the Chinese were styled "Tavgaz" by the Tartars.

M. Cordier's note (vol. i., p. 211) upon Kamul or Hami contains several statements which appear to be either erroneous or quite out of date. The Chinese (Manchu) agent at Urga has not (nor, I believe, ever had) any control over the Little Bucharja cities. Moreover, since the reconquest of Little Bucharja in 1877-1878, the whole of those cities have been placed under the Governor of the New Territory (Kan Suh Sin-kiang Sun-fu), whose capital is at Urumtsi. The native Mohammedan Princes of Hami have still left to them a certain amount of home rule, and so lately as 1902 a decree appointing the rotation of their visits to Peking was issued. The present Prince's name is *Shamu Hust*, or *Hussot*.

7. Colonel Yule (vol. i., p. 169) speaks of Cashmeer as though the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-chwang (seventh century) were the first to speak of the place, but, as I have shown in my remarks upon the State of Pashai, the Toba History mentions tribute from that State in A.D. 511. The country of Dogana, which (p. 152) Yule finds such a puzzle, is quite certain to be the Chinese T'u-ho-lo or Tokhara; for the position suits, and, moreover, nearly all the other places named by Marco Polo along with Dogana occur in Chinese History along with Tokhara many centuries before Polo's arrival. Tokhara being the most important, it is inconceivable that Marco Polo would omit it. Thus, Poh-lo (Balkh), capital of the Eptals; Ta-lakien (Talecan), mentioned by Hsuan-chwang; Ho-sim or Ho-ts'z-mi (Casem), mentioned in the *T'ang History*; Shik-nih or Shī-k'i-ni (Syghinan), of the *T'ang History*; Woh-k'an (Vochan), of the same work; several forms of Bolor, etc. (see also my remarks on the Pamir region in the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1897). But the

Chinese name for "Badakshan" never appears before the Pa-ta-shan of Kublai's time. The note upon p. 174 connecting Hüan-chwang's Kieh-sha with Kashgar is probably based upon an error of the old translators, for the Sita River was in the Pamir region, and *K'a-sha* was one of the names of Kasanna, or Kieh-shwang-na, in the Oxus region.

On p. 174 of vol. i. the old statement is repeated that the Yüeh-chi, or Indo-Scyths (*i.e.*, the Eptals), "are said to have been of Tibetan origin." A long account of this people was given in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1902. It seems much more likely that they were a branch of the Hiung-nu or Turks. Albiruni's "report" that they were of Tibetan origin is probably founded on the Chinese statement that some of their ways were like Tibetan ways, and that polyandry existed amongst them; also that they fled from the Hiung-nu westwards along the *north edge* of the Tibetan territory, and some of them took service as Tibetan officials.

A note of Yule's on p. 190 of vol. i. describes Johnson's report on the people of Khoten (1865) as having "a slightly Tartar cast of countenance." The Toba History makes the same remark 1,300 years earlier: "From Kao-ch'ang (Turfan) westwards the people of the various countries have deep eyes and high noses; the features in only this one country (Khoten) are not very *Hu* (Persian, etc.), but rather like Chinese." I published a tolerably complete digest of Lob Nor and Khoten early history, from Chinese sources, in the *Anglo-Russian Society's Journal* for January and April, 1903. It appears to me that the ancient capital Yotkhan, discovered thirty-five years ago, and visited in 1891 by MM. de Rhins and Grenard, probably furnishes a clue to the ancient Chinese name of Yü-t'ien. It is a mistake to suppose (p. 191) that the earlier pilgrim Fa-hien (A.D. 400) followed the "directer route" from China; he was obliged to go to Kao-ch'ang, and then turn sharp south to Khoten. The identification

of Marco Polo's "Peym" with Hüan-chwang's P'i-mo, and of P'i-mo with Keria or Keltiya, now seems quite proven. In this matter Dr. Stein's recent explorations have borne out some of the views of Dr. Sven Hedin.

8. Marco Polo's Sinju (vol. i., p. 275) certainly seems to be the site of Si-ning, but not on the grounds suggested in the various notes. In 1099 the new city of Shen Chou was created by the Sung or "Manzi" Dynasty on the site of what had been called Ts'ing-t'ang. Owing to this region having for many centuries belonged to independent Hia or Tangut, very little exact information is obtainable from any Chinese history; but I think it almost certain that the great central city of Shen Chou was the modern Si-ning. Moreover, there was a very good reason for the invention of this name, as this *Shen* was the first syllable of the ancient Shen-shen State of Lob Nor and Koko Nor, which, after its conquest by China in 609, was turned into the Shen-shen prefecture; in fact, the Sui Emperor was himself at Kan Chou (Kam Chou, or "Campichu") when this very step was taken. The Gurun mentioned in the note to p. 283 is probably Urga, the Mongol name for which is still Kurun (Chinese K'u-lun).

The *chien-tao*, or "pillar road," mentioned on p. 32 of vol. ii., should be *chan-tao*, or "scaffolding road." The picture facing p. 50 shows how the shoring up or scaffolding is effected. The word *chan* is still in common use all over the Empire, and in 1267 Kublai ordered this identical road ("Sz Ch'wan *chan-tao*") to be repaired. There are many such roads in Sz Ch'wan besides the original one from Han-chung Fu. The story of the "three Kings" of Sindafu is probably in this wise: For nearly a century the Wu family (Wu Kiai, Wu Lin, and Wu Hi) had ruled as semi-independent Sung or "Manzi" Viceroys of Sz Ch'wan, but in 1206 the last-named, who had fought bravely for the Sung (Manzi) Dynasty against the northern Dynasty of the Nüchên Tartars (successors to Cathay), surrendered to this same Kin or Golden Dynasty of

Nüchêns or Early Manchus, and was made King of Shuh (Sz Ch'wan). In 1236 Ogdoi's son, K'wei-t'êng, effected the partial conquest of Shuh, entering the capital, Ch'êng-tu Fu (Sindafu), towards the close of the same year. But in 1259 Mangu in person had to go over part of the same ground again. He proceeded up the rapids, and in the seventh moon attacked Ch'ung-K'ing (mentioned by that name), but about a fortnight later he died at a place called Tiao-yü Shan, apparently near the Tiao-yü ch'êng of my map (p. 175 of "Up the Yangtsze, 1881"), where I was myself in the year 1881. Colonel Yule's suggestion that Marco's allusion is to the tripartite Empire of China 1,000 years previously is surely wide of the mark. The "three brothers" were probably Kiai, Lin, and T'ing, and Wu Hi was the son of Wu T'ing. An account of Wu Kiai is given in Mayers' "Chinese Reader's Manual."

9. In discussing the question of the "four sundry written characters" learnt by Marco Polo when in the employ of Kublai, M. Cordier includes for us all the latest discoveries made by Dr. Hirth, Dr. Bushell, and the late Gabriel Devéria, touching the still undeciphered Kitan, Nüchên, and Tangut scripts, which, like the bastard Annamese characters, are all manifestly inspired by the Chinese. It is just possible that a close comparison of these three with the Annamese may disclose some "sympathetic" cue which will lead to their decipherment. Up to the present only a very few of the Tangut characters have been made out by the last-mentioned two gentlemen. Marco certainly spoke, and *à fortiori* wrote, no Chinese, not to say bastard script derived from the Chinese.

Colonel Yule seems still in some doubt as to the prevalence of female infanticide in China (vol. ii., p. 151), and even M. Cordier, whilst giving references, is not explicit as to what his references say. I have just republished ("China, Past and Present": Chapman and Hall, 1903) a paper upon the subject which appeared in the *University Magazine* five years ago. The evidence upon this matter

is quite irrefragable, but only three or four provinces are seriously concerned.

Dr. Bushell's note on p. 353 of vol. i. describes the silver *p'ai*, or tablets (not then called *p'ai-tsz*) of the Cathayans, which were 200 (not 600) in number. But long before the Cathayans used them, the T'ang Dynasty had done so for exactly the same purpose. They were 5 inches by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and marked with the five words, "order, running horses, silver *p'ai*," and were issued by the department known as the *mên-hia-shêng*. Thus, they were not a Tartar, but a Chinese, invention. Of course, it is possible that the Chinese must have had the idea suggested to them by the ancient wooden orders or tallies of the Tartars.

Touching the supposed introduction in Kublai's time of the art of sugar-refining from Egypt, and the array of learned notes upon the subject of sugar (vol. ii., pp. 226-231), I may observe that the *Pêh Shî* (or "Northern Dynasties History"), speaks of a large consumption of sugar in Cambodgia as far back as the fifth century of our era. There can be no mistake about the meaning of the words *sha-t'ang*, which are still used both in China and Japan (*sa-tô*). The "History of the T'ang Dynasty," in its chapter on Magadha, says that in the year 627 the Chinese Emperor "sent envoys thither to procure the method of boiling out sugar, and then ordered the Yang-chou sugar-cane growers to press it out in the same way, when it appeared that both in colour and taste ours excelled that of the Western Regions" [of which Magadha was held to be part]. I published this information in the *China Review* many years ago, and it is all the more interesting in that Marco was for three years "Governor" of Yang-chou. Of course, it is possible that the Egyptians introduced finer sugars than the Chinese had already for many centuries themselves extracted; but if so, how is it no trace of it has survived?

10. Captain Gill's testimony as to the ancient "guns" used by the Chinese is, of course (as, in fact, he himself

states), second-hand and hearsay. In vol. xxiv. of the *China Review* I have given the name and date of a General who used *p'ao* so far back as the seventh century.

Touching the Generals Von-sain-chin and Abacan, who took part in the Japanese campaign, the identifications as brought up to the latest date by M. Cordier do not seem convincing. Hung Ts'a-k'iu, who set out overland viâ Corea and Tsushima in 1281, is much more likely than Fan Wên-hu to be Von-sain-chin (probably a misprint for *chiu*), for the same reason that *Vo-ciam* stands for *Yung-ch'ang*, and *sa* for *sha*, *ch'a*, *ts'a*, etc. A-la-han (not A-ts'i-han) fell sick at the start, and was replaced by A-ta-hai. To copy *Abacan* for *Alacan* would be a most natural error, and I see from the notes that M. Schlegel has come to the same conclusion independently.

The whole question of Sumatra, including all the other places in the island mentioned by Marco Polo, was discussed exhaustively in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900. In the volume (xxiv.) of the *Chinese Review*, from which M. Cordier so often quotes, I also explained how I had at one time misunderstood Mr. Phillips' view on the subject. It is, therefore, rather startling to find M. Cordier (vol. ii., p. 297) citing vol. xiv., p. 359, of the *China Review*, ten years earlier, in order to repel the suggestion I then made that Marco Polo's Samara might have referred to *Shamuro*, or Siam—a merely casual suggestion that was made, not in connection with Sumatra (which had not been there discussed at all), but with Early Siam, then under discussion, and that in any case had been repeatedly withdrawn since, and therefore claimed not the honour of a discussion.

In chap. lx. Marco Polo tells of the Ch'ang-lu salt. It is curious that not one of the commentators explains that to this day the *sole name* for this industry, the financial centre of which is Tientsin, is the "Ch'ang-lu Salt Superintendency." The origin of this term is fully explained



on pp. 223, 224 of "China" (John Murray, 1901), and a sketch-map there illustrates the exact position.

11. Yule and his commentators, in treating of Marco Polo's chapter on Russia, say very little about the extensive accounts of that region, which may be gathered piecemeal from the *Yüan Shih*. This is the more remarkable as Bretschneider's published notes, obtained chiefly through Palladius' original studies, are now easily available. Even Bretschneider says nothing about the appointment of a Russian Governor in 1337, though he mentions the extensive colonies of Russian guards which were maintained in the neighbourhood of Peking between 1330 and 1334. It was the practice of Princes in the West to send "presents" of Russian captives. In one case Yen Temur sent as many as 2,500 in one batch. The idea that the Russian word *Nyemets* for "German" is connected with the Russian *nyemoi*, "dumb," because they could not speak Russian, is now exploded; Dr. Bretschneider told me so himself. I believe the true explanation is that one of the groups or tribes of Prussian or German knights were styled by themselves Niemetz; or, perhaps, it was a clan of Norman knights; any way, the fact, cited by M. Cordier on p. 493 of vol. ii., that both Turks and Hungarians call the Germans *Niemesi* and *Nemet*, settles the question against *nyemoi*.

The questions of Zaitun, Canfu—in a word, nearly all "open" questions between Yule and the sinologues,—have been carefully examined in the *China Review*, vol. xxiv., to which the curious are now referred, more especially to the original evidence about Zaitun on pp. 243-245. Perhaps it may not be generally known that in the dialect of Foochow Ts'üan-chou and Chang-chou are at the present day pronounced in *exactly the same way*—i.e., "Chiong-chiu," and it is by no means impossible that Marco Polo's *Tyunju* is an attempt to reproduce this sound, especially as, coming to Zaitun viâ Foochow, he would probably first hear the Foochow pronunciation.

Colonel Yule appears to rather overstrain a point when he lays stress (Introduction, p. 22) on the delight which Marco Polo gave to Kublai in describing the strange scenes and peoples of Yün Nan and Kwei Chou, for it must not be forgotten that Kublai had himself spent four years at least in those regions twenty years before Marco's arrival in China, and therefore he knew as much first-hand as Polo could tell him second-hand.

\* \* \* \* \*

For many generations to come the travels of Marco Polo will afford a stimulus to the inquiring energies of specialists in Arabic, Persian, Chinese, and Hindu studies. The difficulty is to co-ordinate the work of students in each line, so as to draw therefrom the maximum net results. So far as the Chinese division is concerned, the tale is by no means exhausted, and a conscientious scrutiny of the *Yüan Shih* from beginning to end—and to a certain extent also of the *Sung Shih* and *Ming Shih* on each side of it—would probably reveal facts of much greater specific import than the view-points I have endeavoured to indicate above.

NOTE.—Since writing the above, I have come across a passage in the "History of the Sung Dynasty" (chap. 490, p. 17) stating that an Arab junk-master brought to Canton in A.D. 990, and sent on thence to the Chinese Emperor in Ho Nan, "one vitreous bottle of *tu-tia*." The two words mean "metropolis-father," and are therefore without any signification, except as a foreign word. According to Yule's notes (vol. i., p. 126), *tūtūh*, or *dudhdā*, in one of its forms was used as an eye-ointment or collyrium.

## JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

## No. X.—ON THE MANIFOLD USES OF JAPANESE PAPER.

MOST of the beautiful art industries of Japan that have attracted our admiration and interest are, perhaps, at least from our point of view, more ornamental than useful.

The art of paper-making has flourished in the East for centuries, unsurpassed by any European mechanical method of producing this valuable substance. From the pliant silky texture that can float in the air to that strong material that has supplied the place of wood, glass, and even iron, vegetable ingredients are selected, and hand labour alone employed. The nature of this paper being so unlike that which is manufactured in our own country, our curiosity is naturally aroused to investigate the materials and method employed in its manufacture.

As soon as the Japanese acquired the secret of this industry from the Chinese, they employed those materials which would be procurable in their own country, and so turned their attention to the cultivation of the plants as well as to the perfecting of the discovery.

Although various substances, such as bamboo, rice-straw, and powdered minerals are occasionally used, Japanese paper is chiefly made from the silky inner bark of the paper-mulberry, of which there are many varieties; but the three principally selected are the

*Edgeworthia papyrifera*, known in Japan as Mitsu mata. It is an Indian plant, and although it does not grow very freely, a sufficient quantity of bushes can be raised and a beautiful quality of paper thereby obtained.

*Broussonetia papyrifera*, called Kosa or Kodzo, a most useful plant for stronger and lasting makes, distinguished

for their lustreless appearance, their firm and porous properties, and general utility. Though capable of being made in soft qualities, they do not crush readily in the grasp of the hand, like others, while a variety in Kodzo paper is derived from the *Morus alba*, or white mulberry.

*Wickstroemia Canescens*, called Gampi, furnishes paper of wonderful lightness and elasticity, glossy of surface, delicate in appearance, and possessing many refined and charming departures from those already quoted. This paper can be crushed or squeezed without detriment, and is readily distinguished by its deep creamy tint and artistic attributes.

For the mucilaginous substances necessary for completing the formula, the root of the *Hibiscus manihot*, also the bast mucilage of the *Hydrangea paniculata* and the *Katsura japonica* are chosen; added to these, *Nori*, or rice paste, when required, as well as dyes, and a white chalky or mineral substance, both for decorating and rendering paper more opaque.\*

Paper that is intended to be manufactured in an ordinary way is prepared in the following manner :

The plant having attained by careful attention and culture the prescribed age, the shoots are removed one by one and collected, cut into lengths of about 3 feet, and packed up into small bundles. They are then placed in an iron kettle full of boiling water, covered up, and suffered to soak in a lye made with ashes. In the course of half an hour these rods are ready to be removed, for it will be found that the outer bark can be easily detached, and the silky fibres obtainable beneath. This process renders them a saleable commodity. Sometimes the outer bark, after being soaked in running water, is peeled away until the inner fibrous bark is reached. This work can be easily carried out by means of a blunt knife. The first green layer, or epidermis, is only available for coarse, inferior packing, or "rubbish

\* Dr. Reins' "Industries of Japan" has been consulted for the compilation of this monograph.

paper"; it is the fine, inner white fibre that is prized and coveted for its beautiful qualities.

The longer the operation and more carefully it is conducted—of either boiling with lye or soaking in cold running water for several days—the whiter the bast will become, and the more perfect the mixing will be carried through eventually.

It is not the practice to bleach Japanese paper ; the colour depends entirely on the method of its preparation and the care that is taken during the washing of the ingredients. When the bast has become sufficiently pliant, while it is in this wet stage it is transferred and spread over blocks of wood, or granite, and converted into a pulpy, even mass by means of beating it with round wooden rollers or hammers. The fibre must be thoroughly bruised or broken, but not torn or hacked. The process of softening and separating must be carried out so as to leave the long cells whole and undamaged ; faulty strands must be rejected. After this beating, the whole must once more be submitted to another process of washing, until the water in which it is placed is quite clear when strained off. This proves that the bast is ready for the cement to be added.

Paper-glue, or mucilage, is obtained principally from the root of the *Hibiscus manihot*, which is smashed up and bruised, and then conveyed to a porous bag in order that the precious juice may drip into the paper-vat, or even a pail of water, should it require diluting before being added to the bast. When kneaded sufficiently together, the bast and mucilage form a valuable compound, the quality and thickness of which is determined by the varieties of the vegetable substances and the weight of the separate ingredients, as well as by the number of times the material is allowed to run over the "form," or "scoop-net." The pulpy mass readily adapting itself into the substance of paper, the quality and thickness of each sheet can be regulated by the attention bestowed upon it at this process of its manufacture. Although it is the rule that care should

be employed to see that the fibres only stretch one way, by turning the "form" and enabling them to cross before the lower strata commence to dry, a stronger quality is secured. This method of crossway distribution reminds us of the earliest method of compounding papyrus paper, where the layers of opened out papyrus were pasted one over the other.

The scoop-net consists of fine meshes of bamboo of equal widths (a little over an inch) bound together with fine silk thread, or twine; sometimes a fine silk-like net, strengthened with Shibu juice, is substituted for the above. This scoop-net is supplied with a movable frame. Plunged into the paper-vat, the scoop is immediately covered with the paste; assisted by the operator the substance becomes equally diffused, for it has to be gently rocked backward and forward in order that the strands shall remain in a collateral distribution. The form is then removed, and the sheets left within it to drain any superfluous moisture escaping through the bamboo joints of the net. In the open air the substance easily hardens, and when dry can be removed without the slightest difficulty. The sheets are transferred from the form after they have settled down, and are finally pressed, and stretched on a board to perfect the drying process. They are never handled; any further manipulation necessary is done by the aid of a brush; they are finally hung over a string to dry before being made up into *jō*, or quires, the number of sheets to a *jō* being determined by weight. Cardboard is produced by pasting one sheet over the other with *nori*, or rice-paste. Papier-maché is made by first preparing a cast of the object to be modelled, and applying wet sheets of strong Mitsu mata paper one over the other until a sufficient thickness is obtained. When dried thoroughly, and satisfactory in every other way, it is treated by the lacquer artist as desired. Crêpe paper is either made by pressing wet sheets between cardboard previously furrowed, and removed to dry; or by means of changing the movable frames of the scoop-net and pressing

them inward to furrow or crinkle the paper as it is lifted out of the vat.

Oiled papers take many days to perfect. They are also made from the *Broussonetia* fibre ; they are treated with a preparation of lampblack and Shibu juice, and laid in the sun to dry for five days ; then these are finally coated with *Perilla* oil twice applied. The process of completion takes fifteen days. Oiled papers are made in colour as well as in black ; for the former gamboge is provided.

Leather papers are prepared, as a rule, with raw lacquer after they have been previously crêped and stamped with the pattern they are intended to bear. These patterns are effected by means of carved wooden models pressed into the sheets after the crêping has been accomplished. For the most expensive designs, real gold and silver foil is provided, as well as foils of green and other iridescent colours, manufactured by the aid of chemicals. These leather papers are used for dados, wall decorations, floor coverings, and other purposes. They have been much favoured in England, on account of their durability, to decorate cabinets, to insert as panels, and to convert into handsome screens.

Wall-papers used by the Japanese are made only in small sheets, not rolls, but they are cleverly joined together to serve the purpose required ; indefinite patterns and low tone tints are usually accepted where paper is required. There are other methods for covering the inner walls of the houses which are considered more artistic and suited to the architecture of the Japanese. Most of the paper is produced in small sheets and pasted together as required, but so neatly and carefully as to escape the notice, except on close inspection.

Some fifteen years ago factories for the making of machine-paper were set up, but there was not sufficient demand for the rag or cotton qualities, and the hand industry steadily continues. This is hardly to be wondered at when we understand the beauty and utility of Japanese mulberry

paper, the strength it can attain, and the delicacy to which it can be brought. The chief use of foreign paper from the rag-engine is for the printing of newspapers, since it was soon understood that machine paper could receive impressions on both sides. Japanese books are now easily procurable in England; we can see for ourselves how much they differ from our own. They are extremely light to hold and very durable; they are less liable to be destroyed or injured by use, less expensive to produce, and hardly ever cumbersome.

A Japanese book, as we all know, commences at what would be the end of our own—the title is set on the right-hand corner, not on the left, never at the back. The pages are folded and printed only on one side of the paper; the folded pages should never be severed; the edges are not intended to be cut; the leaf remains double. Although Chinese characters are often found on the folded edges, they have not, as it were, any immediate reference to the running record within, but are useful in other ways. There are generally three distinct groups of ideographs. At the top is the title of the work, in the middle the number of the page, at the bottom the name of the publisher. These ideographs decorate, rather than disfigure, the volume, open or closed. For this purpose Chinese characters only are selected, although the text of a Japanese book is set in both syllabics where Chinese equivalents are necessary.

The Japanese employ for the making of books, paper quite unlike that which is offered as a speciality by English publishers, who notify that an *édition de luxe* of some costly work will be printed on Japanese vellum. Children's books, calendars, translations of folk-lore stories, and so forth, are printed in Japan for the European market upon indestructible crêpe paper, which long resists [the wear and tear of busy fingers; the fine silky qualities of Gampi paper supply the necessary substance for native literature.

Book-covers are also of paper, toughened and highly



finished, to take a rich dye or embossed pattern. They are also made in silk, cotton, and even brocade, and if two or three volumes complete a work, an extra outer portfolio of cardboard is supplied, or three-fold wrapper, finished off with ivory wedges, tassels, and cords. Books are not sewn and protected at the back like ours; they are folded together and secured with silk or thread, and further strengthened with a silken tie, which is arranged in an ornamental knot, or bow, artistically disposed to show upon the face of the cover. The back remains as much unprotected as the front and side edges.

The semi-porous nature of Japanese paper renders it exactly suited for the method employed of writing upon it with Indian ink and brush; the one sets off the other, and seems the perfection of co-operation. Painting and printing in colours look equally well upon the delicately-toned varieties that are procurable during the process of manufacture.

Lanterns are used as much without as within the houses of Japan. These are made of various kinds of paper, sometimes oiled in order to make them semi-transparent. By their use a diffused and pleasing light is secured, which, although it cannot in any way compete with our own method of street illuminating, is yet well suited to satisfy lovers of the artistic. Japanese villages and towns are lighted with myriads of charming red luminous globes. These are to be seen in endless rows adown the busy streets, hung up before shops and stores, tea-houses, and theatres, dependent from the shafts of the *jin-rik-shas*, carried by pedestrians, and made conspicuous on every occasion.

On festival nights they are very noticeable. At the Feast of Lanterns, the *Bon Matsuri*, that beautiful ceremony in honour of the dead, lanterns woven in fancy shapes of red peony and pink lotus, with long pure white streamers and tassels floating from them, are set to catch every movement of summer air of the July night. Other forms of paper lamps are launched as a miniature fleet and left to

the mercy of the waves and the retreating tides to bear them to the unknown Islands of the Blest. Little strips of white paper are made the mediums to convey to the souls of the departed sweet messages and prayers of love and longing, as they are scattered on the face of the waters at the close of the festival night.

The priest of some obscure shrine or temple blesses you by waving above your head a mysterious little wand, composed of the twig of some sacred plant, and the mystic disposal of a few strands of white paper.

Paper is chosen to convey to the gods the prayers of wayfarers by being chewed up after the petition is made, and left near the idol addressed.

The great gilded or coloured carp that float in the air from the long poles of bamboo at the Feast of Flags, or Boys' Festival, are all modelled out of paper, with the *nabori* and other representations of perseverance which mark the auspicious occasion. There are many beautiful shapes and forms of kites made of paper, and not of linen as with us, the kite being an ancient toy in Eastern lands.

Small strips of paper are also tied in vast numbers to the flowering cherry-trees after verses have been inscribed upon them, in order that poetry and perfume may mingle together in the warm spring air, so redolent of love and promise.

The *shoji*, or sliding partitions of a house, that screen off one apartment from another, or form in summer-time the outer walls, are furnished with thick crêpe-paper panels. When used for the latter purpose they are supposed to prove a sufficient barrier against light and vision. A prick in the paper will reveal to the prying eyes within, a passer-by, whose presence needs identification. But two can generally play at the same game. An illustration of this truism is given by a traveller, who tells us how on one occasion he tried this luxury of peeping, as he thought, on the right side; but he was shortly after amused by hearing the voice of a vigilant policeman on duty courteously

inquiring the name of the foreigner who was occupying the guest-room that afternoon.

For the wooden pillow, where the head may rest without fear of disarranging the coiffure, instead of a linen slip, a fourfold pad of thick paper is secured by means of a cord of the same material. This, like all other daily requisites, is easily renewed at a little expense and greater cleanliness.

For surgical bandages paper has proved an excellent substitute both for lint and linen, being tough and light, soft, and even woolly.

The industry of umbrella-making has been revealed to us mostly through the mediums of picture and carving. The workman of this cunning craft has interested the artist sufficiently to memorialize his methods in colour and ivory, for we often make his acquaintance in a collection of *netsuki*, or in books on trades and industries. Like all other callings, this workman works alone at the door of his hut, or in his little courtyard, with simple tools of brush and knife and pot of paste. The modest materials he requires of bamboo and paper soon become transformed into articles of utility. There are sunshades, self-coloured or highly decorated with designs, for protection from the sun, and there are umbrellas, more weighty and less attractive to look on, oiled and heavily varnished for protection against sudden showers. But however toughened these may become by the application of shibu-juice, lacquer, and Perilla oils, the whole affair is hardly proof against the fury of a sudden storm or thunder shower. Hiroshigé has memorialized in his picture of the whirlwind, how both umbrella and possessor fare under such trying circumstances. On account of the uncertainty of this one paper article, the Japanese have readily adopted European methods of protection during rain.

The oiled papers of the Japanese are of recent date, so that in former years rain-proof hats and cloaks, made from willow or rice-straw, were provided for travellers and peasants.

There is a very pretty form of sunshade made with open

ribs, over which are trained wreaths of artificial flowers. These are only used at festivals, carried by those alone who participate in the dance or gay doings of the day, and displayed more as an ornament than as a useful appendage.

Engine-wheels and armour have been made of compressed paper. Japanese machinery is not conspicuous. Contrivances are extremely simple. Compressed paper armour could resist a musket shot. Helmets of this material heavily lacquered, were worn at one time, and found serviceable as a head protection. In fact, paper has been found very useful in conjunction with the lacquer industry, and very suitable to receive the lac varnish, which strengthens these vegetable ingredients in a greater or less degree. In fact, when only good lacquer wares were made, so much care was expended upon them that every article that was to receive the attention of the lacquerer had to be overhauled and prepared first with paper firmly and carefully pasted all over it, this being found a most useful and necessary barrier to the possibility of any sap or moisture exuding from the wood, and thereby destroying or disfiguring the final work of the lacquerer.

In the silkworm nurseries, again, this material is sought, and thick cardboard trays are selected upon which to place the worms during the period of feeding and preparing to spin-up, for their wandering habits can be arrested by turning up the edges of the cardboard to form a tray and slightly smearing them with some preparation the worms will not trespass over. In fact, there seems an attraction in the paper itself for the worm, which may be due partly from its composition of the mulberry plant. The worms will not wander during the period of laying their eggs, and they quietly remain in the tent-like paper bags into which they are placed when the time has arrived to commence spinning.

Japanese paper screens of many folds seem to have become too familiar to our eyes to need description, but, nevertheless, there is a beauty about their construction

which has a great charm. The bamboo and fretwork of the bent frames, into which the panels are inserted, the beaten metal braces, and the bold naturalistic style of decoration which they receive, make them noticeable amongst other furniture. They have become quite a modern necessity in an English home, as well as a most useful article for a hospital, hotel, and other places of resort, such as dressmakers' fitting-rooms and barbers' shops. In Japan they are often placed upon the verandah to protect from the sun and the wind the inmates of the house, who pass so many hours upon the overhanging platform beneath the eaves, overlooking the garden and extended landscapes. These screens are low in build, easy to be arranged and shifted, while those which we select for our own use, are for dividing space in emergencies, strictly within doors.

In England a paper toy is considered of no account, rather a fraud than otherwise, and only for the use of the very poorest. In Japan, where the material employed to work out an artistic object is never considered, but the method of treating it determines its value, paper toys are often very choice.

Delicate little models of wonderful insects, flies, and flowers, dainty lanterns, and puzzles, houses, and animals, find their way into the hands of children, to whom they become a joy for ever, or, at least, during childhood's term of years.

Card games are numerous; paper balls, covered with frayed silk woven over them in wondrous patterns; kites of all shapes and sizes for boys, and cunning masks, where-with they may personify men and ogres, heroes and demons, charm and delight the children of the happy land. By the dim light of the *andon*, or indoor lantern, the nurse will withdraw to some quiet screened-off corner of the living room to amuse her young charge by scissoring out fancy patterns in paper, or, by care and delicate handling with deft fingers, manipulate the pliant sheet into the semblance of birds, lilies, boats, or butterflies.

One of the most beautiful of the inexpensive art industries is the making of artificial flowers. This industry is favoured by the upper as well as the lower classes. In former years, attached to the large ceremonial fans carried by the ladies of the Court to shield their faces in the presence of royalty, were ribbons and long streamers, which were appended to the outer frames, and where these were affixed artificial flowers were arranged; each noble family interpreting their name or clan by the display of these floral designs, such as *fujiwara* (wisteria), *tachibana* (orange), and so forth. At wedding feasts butterflies of white paper or of gold and silver tissue were tied to the *sake*, or rice-wine bottles, interpreting by their presence the symbolic mysteries of the marriage estate. And the dead were put away to rest in a sitting position in white coffins of compressed papier-maché.

It is the custom among the Japanese, when making presents to one another, to carefully preserve the gift, however trivial, from the touch of the hand of the servant or messenger. For this reason many papers of different kinds usually enfold the object to be presented, and always accompanying the gift is a *noshi*—a piece of paper folded in a particular way, generally decorated with colour and design, containing a small piece of seaweed or cuttle-fish. This packet is symbolic, and expresses the hope that the recipient will not disdain the offering, though of such little value, because originally the people of Japan had sprung from hardworking and poor ancestry, who had toiled for their food by way of being fishermen.

The *kakemono*, or hanging picture of Japan, which usually adorns the "august place" of every sitting-room, is complete in itself without a frame of wood or a sheet of glass. It is all of paper, and mounted on paper brocade with wooden rollers that keep it within the recess well balanced and secure. Beneath this one work of art rests another: a cabinet of papier-maché, and little saucers or curios of the same material, occasionally lacquered.

But one of the chief uses to which paper has been applied remains yet to be enumerated ; it is its capabilities as a material of dress and toilet. The peasant employs a strong make to tie up the hair, and the rich wear brocades, into whose manufacture paper is woven, previously bound with silver or gold. The use of these metallic strands has awakened great interest among our chief manufacturers. This novelty is woven cleverly into the material, for the gold and silver paper is either spun round silk thread, or woven simply into the texture. When finished with care, the material looks as if it were inwrought with precious metal ; but there are many ways of introducing these metallic papers into dress fabrics, according to the quality in demand. These brocades are sometimes selected for covers of tobacco-pouches, pipe-cases, writing wallets, present covers, *fukusa*, and other personal requirements. Paper is used as a wadding for official costumes that need a stiff fashion of adjustment. This wadding resists the cold, and is favoured in China and Korea as well as Japan. For a foot-covering in winter-time the toe of the *geta*, or clog, is modelled in stiff compressed Broussonetia paper, lacquered, and made damp-proof by means of oil or varnish. Dolls' clothes are more often than not supplied in this useful material.

To carry out distinction and etiquette, still differentiating all classes, the paper fan is largely in demand. This constitutes a busy industry, again formerly prosecuted in the homes of artisans. Fan faces, though of other materials occasionally, are usually made in paper, hand painted, or produced in colour woodblock. The stout fibrous make is generally sought after in order to bear the strain of constantly opening or closing within the outer frames. Fans are used by almost everyone, and formerly were even carried on the battle-field, when the commander made use of one while giving his orders for action. The dancing-girl could not carry out her graceful enterprise without the aid of her fan ; the lady of the house could not enjoy the peace

of the verandah without her special fan to shield her from sun and light. The vestments of the priest would not be complete if the white fan, composed of a certain mystic number of sticks, was not placed behind his neck within the folds of his robe, for ready handling during those passages of his sermon requiring emphasis. The giant *meta ogi*, or processional fan, carried at festivals, is always made out of paper. Fans are used as trays, as cake-plates, as bellows, supplied with maps for travellers, offered as gifts at the houses by the hostess, at theatres by the actors, as marriage gifts, and on other occasions too numerous to mention. In this simple little article of daily life lies a lesson of the deepest symbolism and the most religious teaching. Great artists have embellished fans with some of their finest work, and metallurgists have elaborated them with their most marvellous capabilities. In England we put them to the most incongruous purposes, paint over them unappropriate designs, and sew flimsy material about them till the beauty of line and fold is destroyed utterly, and their symbolism is lost.

From the deep recess of her long sleeve the musumé will flick out a dainty square of delicately manufactured paper, to all seeming of the frailest possible material, but in reality difficult to tear, or spoil, by any other way than use. A handkerchief as dainty to all appearance as one of the finest Brussels lace, for over this square will be stencilled, in a powdered chalky substance already alluded to, most realistic designs of wonderful white butterflies, grasses, leaves, or showers of fairy petalled flowers, and suchlike representations that charm the eye, ever seeking for artistic and graceful representations.

These articles are made by thousands, utilized, and cast aside as soon as they have served to disperse the moisture from the brow of some fair maiden, or the tears from the eyes of a laughing child. They have found their way into England, and are at present rather in request, offered as a good material for polishing spectacles and other



purposes, occasionally favoured as a medium of advertising soaps and chocolates and other specialities, insuring thereby temporary preservation, owing to their beauty and finish.

The d'oyley, or finger-napkin, is of a heavier paper, crêped or crimped. Upon these are stencilled in colour the pattern or ornamentation they are to receive. The crimping gives an elasticity which preserves them from damage, at least during a meal, but, like most goods made of this material, they are only intended to serve one occasion. The bamboo napkin-ring, inlaid with mother-of-pearl and silver, is not for native use as much as for the European market.

A curious employment of this substance is that for moulding masks. The model is first coated with wax or oil, and over this a thin sheet of paper is adjusted, and the process repeated many times, care being taken to preserve every detail intact. This model is allowed to dry, and a perfect representation thereby secured. Potters' earth is put on both sides, and then the paper is burnt away, leaving its impression on the clay mould. Into the mould is run the material in which the new mask is intended to be represented.\*

Besides those already mentioned, there are hundreds of other useful everyday articles that are made from paper. Lovely little boxes and trays, saucers and models; beautiful writing materials far too dainty to receive the untidy mark of the post; envelopes embossed or decorated with sketches and river scenes; rolls of delicate writing paper; scarlet and white string for parcels; lined paper for packets, postage-stamps, and paper-money, and things of all kinds that pass from hand to hand, that to foreign eyes, as well as the Japanese themselves, are indeed too dainty to escape observation.

And it is the peasants of the land that sustain this industry, often working within their own homes when the harvest does not require their attention. Happy in their useful

\* "Japan in Art and Industry."

work, crooning their songs, and enjoying the silent lessons that nature displays in field and stream and mountain scenery, as they sit and work before the door of the hut. On their little plots of land they sometimes even grow the mulberry plant and the glue-root, supplying themselves with their own materials, eager for their work to prosper and be the means of supplying their daily needs. Everything for this paper industry must be kept spotlessly clean, free from dust and insects, and all vegetable ingredients employed must be of the best and freshest quality.

The demand for Japanese paper has steadily increased. In the *Financial and Economical Annual* of Japan, giving the values of chief manufactured goods, the results run as follows :

In 1889, value	4,600,023 yen.
In 1894    „	8,061,117    „
In 1898    „	12,392,007    „
In 1900    „	13,985,437    „

By this it will be seen there is no slackening off of the native article, however much foreign paper may be introduced in the country.

## GENERAL WELSH: AN ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHY.

BY A. FRANCIS STEUART.

AMONG the many forgotten diaries of bygone Anglo-Indian worthies, I am afraid we must count those of James Welsh, who died, a General in the Madras establishment, nearly half a century ago; and yet they are worthy of perusal. The writer was not only a gallant soldier, but an artist of great merit, and himself illustrated the abridgment of his diaries under the title of "Military Reminiscences extracted from a Journal of nearly Forty Years' Active Service in the East Indies,"\* which is a book of some value, while many of his journals still remain unpublished.

While I do not wish to give long details of Welsh's military career, it is necessary to show how long his career was, and what great opportunities it gave him of seeing India. James Welsh was born in Edinburgh in 1775, and was the son of John Welsh, writer to the Signet,† and Primrose Hooch Gascoigne, his wife, sister of Sir Charles Gascoigne, the founder of the Carron Company. His maternal grandmother was Grizel, daughter of Charles, ninth Lord Elphinstone, and aunt of the Hon. William Fullarton Elphinstone, the East Indian director, and grand-aunt of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, of Indian fame. To this relationship Welsh owed his Indian career, and he was sent out to India as a cadet at the age of fifteen. When he arrived at Calcutta he says he was at once struck by the "excessive luxury and effeminacy which pervade the European community"; but he had scarcely time to look round when he was summoned to Madras, where he entered, with the pay of nineteen pagodas a month (£7), the 3rd

\* Two volumes, London, 1830.

† He also went out to India, and died at Calcutta in 1794.

European Regiment, which was then stationed at Vellore, setting himself to become an absolute master of Persian and Hindustani. He was soon engaged in the siege of Pondicherry, and the young Lieutenant says that after its capture the French capital "more resembled a town in Europe than the inside of a fortress." In 1794 he returned to Calcutta, and married one of the most beautiful girls in India, Sarah Light, who was the eldest daughter of an early pioneer, Captain Francis Light, the founder of the settlement of Prince of Wales Island; but soon after his marriage he had again to join his regiment.

In 1795 he had the good fortune to be among the captors of Ceylon, and he remained there for three years as Fort Adjutant of Point de Galle. In these days of race friction, it is interesting to note the positions of the two white nations: "The utmost cordiality subsisted between us from the very first, and the English and Dutch speedily became one community." But yet he did not love all the Dutch.

The Poligar War broke out in 1801, and it is hardly too much to say that Welsh gives a better account of it than appears in the other histories. He says, indeed: "I do not believe that any account of this service has been ever given to the public, and it was customary, while gallant fellows were falling covered with glorious wounds, to put down the casualty in our newspapers as if they had died in their beds." He tells anecdotes of strange instances of bravery of the English and their opponents, and as an instance recounts how one of our allies was brought to Major Macaulay mortally wounded carried in a chair, and only said: "I have come to show the English how a Poligar can die," and instantly expired. In this campaign Welsh was severely wounded.

In 1803 he exchanged into the 78th Regiment, and saw service in the first Maharatta War. At Ahmednagar he was with the army at the storming of the town on August 12, when he reports one of his Maharatta chiefs wrote: "These English are a strange people, and their

General a wonderful man; they came here in the morning, looked at the Pettah wall, walked over it, killed all the garrison, and returned to breakfast: what can withstand them?" I do not intend to narrate the history of the war, but only to mention the characteristic things he recounts, but he was present at Argaum, and many other engagements. He tells a characteristic story of the attack on Gawilghur. One of the engineers came up to the Brigadier, Colonel Wallace, saying the heavy guns could never be got up to the battery. "Impossible!" was the answer. "Hoot, mon! it must be done; I've got the order in my pocket;" and taken it was. After the country was settled, he was sent to meet and conciliate "the Bhil chief, Té'ghee Cawn," and then, obtaining his majority in 1805, assumed command at Puna and Pālamkotta. Here he had the luck to discover a plot against the Government, disarmed the native soldiers, one with his own hand, and, though tried by court-martial in 1807, was acquitted and congratulated by Government; but of this period of suspense no diaries now remain.

He now visited England on sick leave, returning in 1809 to Madras, where he found his regiment, under Colonel St. Leger, again taking the field to oppose the Travancore rebellion; and on February 16 his greatest exploit in warfare occurred in the taking of Arambooly. The capture of this hill-fort, so difficult of access, was no small piece of work to be proud of; the attacking force had no battering-guns, while the scarcely accessible hill-fort was defended by fifty pieces of cannon and 10,000 men, yet Welsh writes gleefully that after six hours' scrambling "the whole lines were in our possession by 8 a.m.," with the loss of only two killed. For this gallant escalade Welsh was publicly thanked in Detachment and General Orders, and the "Arambooly Vase" he was presented with by his fellow-officers remained his greatest treasure to his death. His next service was on the Wynaad rebellion in 1812, after which he obtained his Lieutenant-Colonelcy; and after filling many commands went a voyage in 1817 to Prince

of Wales Island and China, from which he returned in 1819 to Madras as Deputy Judge Advocate-General of Bangalore, and he became in 1821 in command of the troops in Malabar and Canara, crushing a rising at Kolapore in 1824. During all this time his diary was kept, and it was kept in full. It is from his descriptions of the state of India in his time that his journals are most interesting. There is nothing of grace in the writing, yet he tried truthfully to describe what he saw during his many journeys and tours of inspection both in British and—what is perhaps less common—Foreign India. Tranquebar, the Danish settlement, struck him in 1802 as “by no means a desirable residence.” The magnificence of Surat “had not been much exaggerated.” In 1807 Pondicherry, which he had seen in 1793, was again visited by him, and he noticed a “sensible decline of the place impairing its beauty,” and severely reprobated the few Englishmen there, who were “dressed out in the extreme of French foppery.” Mahé in 1812, “a place now going fast to decay, but formerly one of singular strength, beauty, and consequence.”

He had little sympathy with the Catholic converts. In 1801 he writes of those in the Gulf of Manaar: “Their Christianity, however, is debased by a conjunction of Roman Catholic and heathen idolatry quite distressing to behold, added to which their principal European qualification is dram-drinking, which they carry to excess. And as the Hindoos deck out and carry in procession an annual car, called Rutt or Tare, so these mongrel heathens have a similar car decorated with images of our blessed Saviour and His Virgin Mother, surrounded by little cherubims, which they drag through the town on Christmas Day and at Easter!” He describes in 1817 the Jews of Cochin, with whom, as a student of Hebrew, he had more sympathy: “They form a separate community, have a synagogue of their own, and are in dress, manners, and customs entirely distinct from both Europeans and natives,” claiming to descend from refugees from the destruction of Jerusalem.

He says they obtained grants of land from the Sovereign of Malabar in 1757: "A few European Jews are intermixed with them, mostly from Frankfort, but the whole are fair and well-proportioned, with handsome features, and all wear the ancient costume. These poor outcasts complain, as do their nation in every part of the world, of oppression from the existing government, being entirely under the Rajah of Cochin, whose palace is close to the town, and they petition hard to be made British subjects." During his visit in 1819 one Naphtali, a Frankfort Jew, was "chief of the community."

In 1819, when visiting Anjengo, he touches on an interesting subject in the history of literature, as he put up in "a small Portuguese house on the backwater, immediately under the Eastern face of the fort, and said to be the very house in which Eliza Draper was born, but which, like the rest of the place, bears evident marks of better days." He did not approve of Eliza, "whose name has been most capriciously handed down to futurity by two eccentric priests, Seme and the Abbé Raynal"; still, he writes, "I found myself mechanically led to seek some relique, and actually robbed a broken window of two or three pieces of mother-of-pearl in memento of my visit to the birthplace of Eliza Draper." He mentions that there was in 1812 "a capital house" at Tellicherry long inhabited by her also.

In 1820 he visited the Portuguese capital, Goa, and his account of it is curious. He paid a visit to the Governor in his palace, "a large unsociable building," and to the Archbishop, "a gross dark man, who conversed in French with great fluency. When I proposed to take my leave, he begged me to stop a few minutes, that he might treat me as he would a lady visitor; then directing two attendant priests to run into the garden and pick some flowers, for which he desired me to hold out my cocked hat, and nearly filled it with roses." The prison of the Inquisition was empty, and he found the tomb of St. Francis Xavier, "superb

and chaste," and "surmounted with a silver coffin having a glass lid, in which are deposited the dried remains of the saint, wanting one toe, which a Portuguese lady in a fit of holy enthusiasm actually bit off and purloined." After visiting "about thirty convents, churches, and monasteries out of three or four hundred," he came to the conclusion that the Indo-Portuguese were an "idolatrous" people, while appreciating at the same time the "taste and harmony" of their church music.

In 1829 Colonel Welsh left India, as he thought, "for ever." He says, as everyone acknowledges, that it possesses many advantages, and is certainly an excellent country for poor men, particularly soldiers of fortune. He adds that the Company's service is "the best in the world," and did not imagine he would return to India again. He remained, like a patriarch, in the midst of his large family in England until he received a summons in 1837 as Major-General to command the Northern Division of Madras, and in 1838 had the command of the district of Katak also.

His later diaries exist only in an unprinted form, and they are very different to those of early life. His wife, his "lovely Sally," died at Waltair in Madras, as he inscribes on her miniature, "still lovely to the end," in 1839, and after her death he was a changed man. Before this he had fallen under the spell of Exeter Hall, and though now we scarcely can estimate what that means, in his time evangelical thought was very real indeed, and was a great if serious incubus on his vitality. I do not know when he first fell under this influence, but he felt it when, after remaining under its yoke in England, he returned to India in 1838. He did yeoman service there, as his later journals show. Nothing was too much for him. He marched, inspected, preached, and, when nothing else occupied him, drew beautiful little sketches of what he met with in everyday life. So things jogged on until 1847, when the estimable old warrior returned home after a service of



fifty-eight years in India, having been thanked by the Governor-General in Council. He had many descendants, but none could be altogether with him. One of his daughters who loved him thought that one of her friends would make him happy, and he married her on his arrival in England, hoping, no doubt, for "a Christian end." He was never able to forget his first wife, however, for during his last illness, hearing his granddaughter called, "Come here, Sally," he sighed, and said, "Yes; but not my Sally," and died, soon after, on January 24, 1861. He left a good name behind him, and his diaries, heavy in style though they are, and filled with simple facts, have hardly been regarded with the scrutiny they deserve by anyone who desires to know the history of the British *Rāj* in Madras and Southern India.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, November 2, 1903, a paper was read by T. Durant Beighton, Esq., on "The Modern History of Trial by Jury in India." The Right Hon. Sir Andrew Scoble, K.C.S.I., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., the Hon. Mrs. Randolph Clay, Major-General M. Protheroe, Mr. and Mrs. F. Loraine Petre, Dr. Pollen, C.I.E., Dr. Bhaba, Captain Rolleston, Mrs. Durant Beighton, Miss E. A. Manning, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mrs. H. Beighton, Mr. T. Stoker, Mr. F. H. Skrine, Mrs. Cook, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Hans Raj, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. G. S. Sharma, Mr. J. L. Lyall, Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. N. D. Daru, Mr. P. K. Sinha, Mr. H. A. Stokes, Mr. C. A. Kelly, Mr. Lewis Gordon Tyrrell, Mr. H. Mussenden, Mr. W. Ilbert, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. Everard Digby, Mr. Wavell, Miss Taylor, Mr. J. Macready, Mr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I will now ask Mr. Beighton to read the paper which he has prepared on this very interesting question of the history of trial by jury in India. I do not propose to detain you by any lengthy preliminary remarks, but I think I ought to say that Mr. Beighton is a gentleman especially qualified to deal with this subject, as during his experience of many years as a District Judge in India he was generally, if not invariably, posted to what are called "jury districts," and therefore had a greater opportunity than most of judging by personal experience how the system of trial by jury works in India. He has also given very great attention to the subject, not only during his service in India, but since he returned, and I am sure you will listen to his paper with great interest and much instruction. I will now call upon Mr. Beighton.

The paper was then read.\*

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you have all listened to Mr. Beighton's paper with much interest, and, as I ventured to predict, with much instruction. He speaks from a standpoint which perhaps only a few of us in this room can speak from—the standpoint of practical experience. My own connection with this question of trial by jury in India is based mainly upon my experience of juries in presidency towns, who are excluded from the purview of this paper, and whose services to the administration of justice have, indeed, been very great ever since the institution was introduced. I speak, therefore, with a prejudice in favour of trial by jury. My only connection with the general subject was that in 1890, when I had the honour to be the legal member of the council of the Governor-General, I concurred in sending round the circular, which has been referred to in the course of Mr. Beighton's paper, for the purpose of

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

ascertaining the views of local governments and other authorities qualified to speak upon the success or non-success of the system so far as it had been tried in the districts under their control. I had left India, however, before replies were received. Therefore I have taken no part in the subsequent treatment which the question has received from the Government. But starting, as I say, with a sort of predilection in favour of trial by jury—though I admit that that institution is not so popular here in England now as it was in my younger days (I am not surprised to find that the unpopularity which it has here suffered from is somewhat reflected on the other side of the world)—admitting that I start with that view, I am quite ready to confess that it is a subject of great difficulty, a subject which requires to be dealt with with great care and tenderness, and a subject that was rendered much more difficult by the abruptness with which it was introduced. I think the fault we have committed in our administration in India has generally been that we have been wanting to go too fast, that we have been trying to transport *en bloc* institutions which have answered very well in our own country to another country where they are not familiar, where they are, to a certain extent, contrary to the genius of the people, and where, at all events, they require to be very carefully tested before they are practically introduced to any large extent. And having said that, I must confess that I have been astonished, if statistics are any authority or any guide to us in these matters, to find how great the success of this system has been. Remember, it was only introduced forty-two years ago by the Act of 1861. It came as a novelty, almost, to every part of India. The institution of the *punchayet*, to which you have been referred, no doubt contains within it the germ of the jury. The *punchayet* in India is what the jury was in Anglo-Saxon times; the principal men of the town or village or hamlet met together when questions arose, discussed those questions, and gave their view of what ought to be done under the circumstances. That was the origin of our jury. But soon those who were called on account of their intimate acquaintance, or supposed intimate acquaintance, with the circumstances of the case developed into a tribunal before whom evidence was brought; and there you have what I have no doubt was in the mind of the Legislature of India when trial by jury was introduced into that country. They said: “We have here the germ of the institution; let us try to develop it.” As I say, I think they developed it too rapidly, and the consequence has been the amount of complaint with which its operations have been received almost ever since the period of its introduction. But, as I said, I do not think there is, upon statistics, any very great case made out for absolutely condemning the system. Mr. Beighton has very kindly favoured us with the result of his dissection of the statistics which are available in the matter. He gives us a period of four years, from 1882 to 1885. During that period 1,400 jury trials were held, and the judges differed from the juries only in 249 cases, or about 17½ per cent. of the total. Now, we have no means of knowing in how many cases in this country judges disagree with verdicts. Our statistics do not go so far as that; but I may be permitted to say that, in my humble opinion, after forty years’ experience all over the country, it is very

remarkable that in only  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the cases the judges should have differed from the jury. That is, at all events, how it strikes me. I should have expected to find a much greater proportion. If you take another statement which is given by Mr. Beighton in his paper, there were in the five years from 1887 to 1891 698 cases tried by jury for serious offences. Of these, the judge dissented in 97 cases, he referred 62, and in 34 of those cases the verdict was modified or set aside. But if you take 34 from 62 you find 28 are left in which the appellate tribunal did not disagree with the jury, but did disagree with the judge who referred the case. Now I say that, again, is a remarkable circumstance to be borne in mind in dealing with this question. Of those 698 cases 203 were murder cases. The judge differed in 27 out of the 203. Twenty-five of those cases in which he differed were verdicts of acquittal, and of those 22 were referred, and 13—a little more than half—set aside. So there, again, you have the jury supported against the judge in almost as many cases as those in which the High Court supported the judge against the jury. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think that that is a bad result for a comparatively new institution; and when I come to what is really my main point in the matter, that in any country the greatest force the Government can have upon its side is an instructed population, taking an interest—an intelligent and an honest interest—in the punishment of crime, you have one of the greatest forces that you can possibly have behind your back (hear, hear), and that is given to you, as it seems to me, by the introduction of trial by jury. I quite admit, as I have already said, that it was introduced too hurriedly. I quite admit that in many cases, which you can find out without any very great difficulty, the action of the jury has been perverse, and I might almost say scandalous. I quite admit that in certain parts of the country it is a foregone conclusion that if you submit a particular case to a jury that jury will not act as it ought to act, and find a verdict of guilty against persons who, from their sacred character, or their monetary influence, or what not, they feel they cannot find guilty with safety to themselves. But those are all cases which, I think, might be dealt with by executive action. Those are all cases which might be dealt with, as Mr. Beighton suggests in one of his recommendations, by the local government withdrawing for a time, or perhaps altogether, the trial of such cases from a community which had proved itself incompetent to deal with them. That is a very different thing to condemning the system altogether. That would be an endeavour to set the system right where it had proved defective, and not a condemnation of the system in principle. I do not know that I ought to detain you any longer. I have given you my general view on the subject; but there is one other point that I should like to mention, and that is the proposal, which is also made by Mr. Beighton, that the judges should ascertain from the juries the reasons for their judgment. I am an old fogey, perhaps, and I have been connected with the administration of the law so long that my principles are, perhaps, rather antiquated, but I do object to any chance of a judge cross-examining a jury. (Hear, hear.) I think that is upsetting the whole thing. It ought not to be done. The judge may very well ask the jury for a special

verdict upon facts, and that will help the appellate tribunal very much in dealing with the case when it comes before them ; but that he should try and get an explanation of their reasons I think no one who has ever sat on the bench in India would be willing for a moment to admit. He would get such a confused and unsatisfactory series of answers that he would be no wiser at the end of a long investigation than he was at the beginning. As to the four recommendations made by Mr. Beighton, upon which it is, perhaps, my duty to make some remarks, I have already dealt with two of them. I am not disposed, until I have better authority upon the subject, to agree with the proposal that the trial by juries of offences relating to marriage should be made practically universal throughout India. That is a very difficult and delicate subject indeed, and though there is no doubt a good deal to be said on the one side, there is probably also as much, if not more, to be said on the other. In regard to the fourth recommendation, I am entirely with Mr. Beighton. I think everyone who has had anything to do with the administration of justice in India, whether in the presidency towns or in the Mofussil, knows that the composition of the jury-list is generally very carelessly and imperfectly done. (Hear, hear.) If it were more carefully looked after, and if you got a better class of men—I do not say practitioners of the law—it would be a great improvement. I remember at one time it was proposed in England, on circuit, where it was difficult sometimes to make up a jury without bringing in some of the bystanders, that the junior Bar should be called upon to fill the vacancies. That suggestion was received with such horror by the judges that it was not pressed any further. Although, no doubt, practitioners of the law are very clever and intelligent persons, there is no doubt also that they are apt to take points which are not always good ones, and therefore, though I would have the jury-list most carefully and sedulously attended to by the proper authorities, so that you should always have a sufficient number of respectable men to put in the box, I would not overload that list with practitioners of the law. I now call upon any lady or gentleman present if they wish to make any remarks upon the paper to do so. I have here a most formidable document, in which I am told that I must call upon you in the following order : First of all, any one or more whom I may deem to be specially qualified. That is an invidious duty which I do not intend to discharge. Secondly, any member. That is a duty which I am incapable of discharging, because I do not know who are members and who are not. And thirdly, any visitor who may wish to speak on the subject. I shall be very glad if anyone who has heard the paper will favour us with his or her views upon it. (Applause.)

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT desired to express his thanks to Mr. Beighton for the extremely accurate and valuable history which he had given them of the course of events through which the principles of the jury system had passed in India. The question was a most important one, and the recommendations were valuable, even though the question was not at the present moment a burning one. It was peculiarly interesting to himself, as he had been so largely concerned in the hot discussion of eleven years ago, and he had been much interested in re-reading the half-forgotten papers of that

time. He had thus been led to reconsider afresh whether what the government of Bengal then did was in all respects the right thing to do, or whether, with greater prudence, foresight, and patience, they might have done something different, and thus avoided the fiasco which followed. For one thing, they could not be accused of acting precipitately. The question had seemed to burst upon the public almost as a sudden thunder-clap, but it had really been under discussion for nearly two years. The Government of India had asked in 1890 for the opinion of all local governments. The letter in which the Bengal government replied in 1891 recommended three changes in the jury system. First, that there should be an appeal on the facts in every jury case if the jury had not been unanimous, unless the judge agreed with the verdict of the jury. Secondly, that the judge should be authorized to refer every case in which he disagreed with the opinions of the jury. In these two recommendations a large number of the judges of the High Court agreed. The third recommendation, in which the judges of the High Court did not altogether agree, was that the judge should be empowered to ascertain and record the reasons which had led the jury to come to their verdict, the amount of credibility which they attributed to the evidence, and their views on special and individual questions of fact. The letter ended by pointing out that the decision as to what classes of cases should be tried by jury and in what areas lay, under the law, with the local government; but the question having assumed such great importance, the local government thought it better, first of all, to obtain the opinion of the Government of India. The reply of the Governor of India was that they disagreed with the first proposal, saying that it would reduce the jury to the level of assessors, and that after such a large alteration the jury system could only exist in name, and would not be worth retaining. With regard to the suggestion that the judge should refer every case in which he disagreed, the Government of India held that the law as it stood was sufficient, the judge having power to do it, and it would not be advisable to make it incumbent upon him to do it in every case, as this might make the home Government even more reluctant to interfere than they were already. On the third suggestion the Government of India said almost exactly what the Chairman had said to-day. They deprecated anything in the nature of cross-examination of the jury; but they desired that there should be a slight modification—namely, that the judge should be empowered to ask for a special verdict on a particular issue of fact, and a special reply as to the credibility attached in the minds of the jury to particular evidence. With regard to the Bengal proposal to make the alterations which had been suggested in the classes of cases to be entrusted to juries, the Government of India said they entirely agreed with him. The Chairman had, he thought, a little misunderstood the case when he spoke of the proposed abolition of the jury system.

THE CHAIRMAN: I was not referring to the Bengal government, but to Sir John Edge.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT said the proposal was simply to modify the system by removing certain classes of cases. He had desired to follow

the practice of the North-West Provinces with regard to the class of cases most suitable for trial by jury. The Government of India said they thought the chief mistake had been the extension of the jury system to areas and to classes of offences which were unsuitable, and they expressed general approval with his suggestions, but left him the responsibility of carrying them out. Then followed the notification which withdrew mainly from the jury three classes of cases—those connected with murder, riot, and perjury, while cases relating to marriage were entrusted to them. The step had been taken after very careful consideration and with the best advice that could be obtained, for he had then for his chief secretary a man of great political sagacity and unrivalled knowledge of Bengal, Sir John Edgar, and when he left he was succeeded by a man hardly inferior in these respects, Mr. (now Sir Henry) Cotton. They were prepared for some excitement and opposition, but the agitation which arose far exceeded their expectation, which had been expressed in writing to the Government of India as a hope “that this reform would be effected without much outcry from the educated classes.” No Government ever made a worse prognostication of what was going to happen, except, perhaps, the present Government in the case of the South African War. Since the event, the question had often occurred to him whether anything could have been done to prepare the public mind for the notification, and whether it might have been possible, by utilizing the newspaper press, to have ascertained how public opinion would be likely to regard the matter. He did not, however, think that would have produced any practical effect, for proposals of the kind in question would have hardly have been considered carefully and deliberately in the press until they had been actually formulated, and if they had been once formulated, it would have been very difficult to recede from them. Mr. Beighton's suggestion, that instead of treating the matter *en bloc* the jury system might have been withdrawn from a district when any particular scandalous case occurred, was certainly a plausible one, but it was one which nobody had made to him at the time, and therefore did not receive consideration. There had been, however, so many scandalous cases that before long every district would have come under the operation of the principle, and he thought that when it was realized that the end was being reached by repeated smaller blows instead of by one blow, the indignation of the public would have been equal or greater. In English politics, a Machiavelian policy of that kind was sometimes adopted, but it was unfamiliar to them in India. It still remained a moot question as to what it would have been best to do then and what it was best to do now with reference to the jury question. There was a great deal to be said on both sides. The Chairman had said that one great fault of the Indian administration was the attempt to go too fast. He thought another fault was that it held up too high an ideal standard. The Indian administrator is apt to illustrate the maxim, *Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*. He is never satisfied with what is good so long as it is not perfect and as he thinks he sees a way to improve it. He gets very indignant when he sees a failure of justice, and would like to pluck up everything by the root and plant it all over again. Certainly there was plenty of room for dis-

satisfaction with the working of trial by jury in Bengal. He fully sympathized with Mr. Beighton's feelings with reference to the Beliati case, which was a scandalous breakdown of justice. There was a similar case in the year 1901 in Calcutta—the well-known Sham Bazaar case. In the long-run, however, one learned to exercise patience, and to see that there were things more important than remedying the first evil that came to one's notice by the first means at hand. Similar cases occurred even in England, and they all knew that there were even worse cases in Ireland. In England it occurred more by inadvertence or stupidity than by race or religious hatred. He believed that on the whole the jury system was good for India, in spite of occasional break-downs. He thought it was desirable in India to associate the people, as far as possible, with the attainment of good order and justice. He believed in the educative influences of jury work, and he felt the advantage of letting the people see that they were co-operating with the Government. Looking back at it now, with the experience of ten years, he was inclined to say that, with his present experience, he would certainly have recommended a smaller change, and possibly no change at all in the jury system. (Applause.)

MR. SKRINE said that the jury system had "come to stay" in India, and we must make the best of it. He entirely agreed with Mr. Beighton's suggestion for increasing its value in the administration of justice. Jurymen were not always immaculate in the West. The speaker gave an amusing instance of the result of unblushing venality in an American foreman. Indians were far more liable to extraneous influences, and they should be carefully guarded from such *pendente lite*. Another special point was the revision of jury-lists. This was now a most perfunctory affair, and the officers charged with the duty found the field of selection narrowed by the absurd practice of granting exemption from liability to serve on juries to men of any social standing.

MR. SAUNDERS had come there expecting to hear some historical account of trial by jury, but unfortunately the lecturer had dealt with it as it existed at the present time, or within the last ten years. He was for extending the right of trial by jury to all Indians throughout India, including those belonging to Native States. The agriculturists of India were a better class of men than they had in England when trial by jury was first established.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN desired to say a word on the question, because he had had a little practical experience of it as Judge of Poonah, which was the first district in which trial by jury was introduced. He was always very glad to have questions of fact decided by a jury. Every European having to deal with conflicting native evidence felt himself terribly at sea. It had been said that it was very difficult to get an Indian jury to convict in capital cases, particularly if the accused was a Brahmin. That reminded him of the fact that one of the first cases he tried with a jury was that of a wandering mendicant Brahmin, who was tried for murder. He had directed the jury against conviction, but the jury convicted the man, and he was executed. He did not think there was any sympathy with criminals among the respectable Indian public. They were the chief sufferers when criminals escaped punishment. Reference had been made



to the extreme excitement caused when it was proposed to abolish juries in large provinces of India. That was explained by the terror in which the Indian police were held. People regarded trial by jury, even if it did occasionally result in failure of justice, as their great protection against the oppression of the police. Unfortunately the Indian Government could not afford to pay their numerous Indian subordinates sufficiently, and the unpopularity of the British rule chiefly arose from oppression by the lowest class of Government servants. (Applause.)

MR. WHISH thought it was important to remember that the trial by jury system originated at a time when purity of justice could not be depended upon, and it was a bulwark of popular liberty against unwarrantable interference on the part of the Crown exercised through the judges. The discussion seemed to have narrowed down to the proposition that the privilege of trial by jury should be withdrawn from any district in which it had been abused. That seemed to him a good suggestion.

MR. LYALL wished to say that he was the foreman of the first jury that was formed before the High Court in Allahabad. They had tried a man who was found guilty, and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. When the man had served his term he expressed his great gratitude to the jury, because he had become compulsorily a sober man, and a successful man in another part of India.

MR. T. DURANT BEIGHTON said in reply: The Chairman suggests that I should confine my closing remarks to two minutes. I am afraid after my effort to compress a lecture of one hour and a quarter's duration into fifty minutes, which I have successfully accomplished, my brain is hardly equal to the further task of answering the many criticisms that have been made in such a microscopic period of time. I must, however, leave much unsaid. I regret that most of Mr. Saunders' strictures on my paper were made while I was temporarily absent. I gather that he considers the title misleading, and has complained of my omitting to notice the trial of Europeans by jury. I am well aware that this mode of trial for Europeans took place long before 1861, but I carefully defined the scope of the paper at the outset, and distinctly explained that it did not deal with Europeans at all. Still less can I grasp what my paper has to do with the trial of native Princes by commission. The Chairman has been so good as to express approval of some of my conclusions, but I confess I was surprised at the inferences he drew from the figures and statistics in the paper. But we ought to recollect that although he is now a distinguished member of the Privy Council, most of us are aware that he was formerly an equally distinguished advocate, and I never expected that a condemnation of trial by jury would commend itself to barristers for obvious reasons. [The CHAIRMAN: I hope you won't mention them!] Not for worlds. I will leave the appreciation of these reasons to the intelligence of my audience. (Laughter.) At any rate, I am pleased to find that the Chairman altogether approves of my particular recommendation with regard to grave scandals, involving a serious miscarriage of justice in a district, which is without doubt the most important and far-reaching proposal I have made. Turning for a moment to Sir Charles Elliott's able speech in vindication of his action in 1892 (P).

Sir Charles has expressed himself as in almost complete agreement with me in principle. With regard to the notification, I can only say with all humility that I wish Sir Charles had availed himself of such advice as I was able to give him from my experience of the currents of opinion before he took that leap in the dark. But I am much amused and surprised at the interpretation he has placed on my suggestion for dealing *seriatim*, as occasion arose, with different classes of crime in particular districts. He has really hurt my feelings by suggesting that this was intended to enable him to destroy the system piecemeal, as it were, by a "side-wind." (Laughter.) Seriously, however, I can assure him that the recommendation means no more than the words literally imply—*i.e.*, that when a local scandal has occurred the local Government should use its powers for the temporary suppression of trial by jury in that district for the particular offence. None of the speakers who upheld trial by jury have seemed to realize that, although there may be bad and foolish verdicts even in England, you do not get corrupt verdicts. The system in India, with the defects inherent in the system, on the other hand, afford opportunities for bribery which do not exist in England. My friend Mr. Skrine wishes to add to my four recommendations one for the seclusion of juries during the progress of the trial. This, however, I have explained at some length in my paper has, for reasons connected with the habits of the people, been found impracticable, and if attempted to be enforced, would make service on juries even more unpopular than it is at present. I thank you heartily for the patience and attention with which you have listened to my lecture. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have had a very interesting paper, and a very interesting discussion. I am sure you will all agree with me in thanking Mr. Beighton for the extremely valuable paper which he has read.

The motion was carried with acclamation.

On the resolution of MR. SAUNDERS a vote of thanks to the Chairman was unanimously passed, and the proceedings terminated.

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At a meeting of the East India Association, on Monday, December 7, 1903, a paper was read by A. G. Wise, Esq. (late of Ceylon), on "Education in Ceylon: A Plea for Estate Schools." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Dr. David Duncan, LL.D., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Rev. Barton Mills, Mr. A. K. Connell, Mr. John Hill (formerly Ceylon Education Department), Mr. Samuel Lee (Director Ceylon Mission), Mr. A. M. Ferguson (Ceylon planter), Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mrs. J. P. Whitelow, Mrs. Angus, Mrs. Paterson, Miss Dutt, Miss Moberly, Mrs. Bedford, Miss Gordon, Mr. H. J. Cook, Mr. Victor Corbett, Mr. G. S. Sharma, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. N. D. Daru, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Mr. P. A. Ellas, Mr. John Whitmee, Ekbal Naram Mussledan, Mr. B. A. Cooper, Mr. H. W. Turner, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am very sorry to have to announce to you that Lord Reay, who was to take the chair this afternoon, has been compelled, by a very important engagement, to remain away. He wished very much to preside at Mr. Wise's lecture, but you must

accept me as a very indifferent substitute. Mr. Wise is perfectly competent to speak with authority on the subject he has chosen to-day, which is one of great, though necessarily local, interest, and without any further comment, I will ask him to be so kind as to read his paper.

MR. A. G. WISE: Sir West Ridgeway, in his review of his administration for eight years in Ceylon, dwelt, and with justice, upon the great strides which education had made throughout Ceylon during his régime. The grants for education have increased considerably, and there is also a very much larger number of schools throughout the island. But Sir West Ridgeway was not altogether able to accomplish one feature in regard to education which I, as an old planter, consider to be of some importance. He was not able to do so much as I should like to have seen done in regard to the education of the Tamil coolie children resident or employed upon the tea estates. There are in Ceylon some 1,857 plantations. There are 1,850 children attending the schools which have already been established. Only forty-three schools have so far been established, or rather less than one child per estate is at present receiving any kind of systematized education. What I personally should wish to see would be on every plantation throughout Ceylon, or, at all events, on every group of estates, a school at which the children should receive some simple, primary, vernacular education, at which these Tamil coolie children should be taught, at all events, to read and write their own language and the elements of arithmetic, so that in later years they might be able to keep their own accounts, and prevent themselves being swindled, as, unfortunately, they are at present, by their own native foremen and other unscrupulous persons, including the caddi-keepers, or the village store-keepers; and also the children might receive some instruction in their own magnificent national history, and such other subjects as are now being taught in the schools attended by the village children, the Cingalese, the original inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

With these few words I will proceed to read the paper which I have been permitted to read before this Association this afternoon.

The paper was then read.\*

THE CHAIRMAN: In thanking the lecturer for a singularly interesting and well-read paper, which I think we have all heard with great pleasure, I would merely say that I did not come here with any intention either of speaking or taking the chair this afternoon, and on a subject like this I am hardly more competent to give an opinion than any one of you. I would, however, as fortune has thrown me into this position, say that although Ceylon is a little outside the ordinary scope of the East India Association, yet the question concerns people who are born in India, Indians emigrating into the old and historically interesting Island of Ceylon, so closely associated with Hindu mythology; and it also concerns the general question which applies, not only to Madras or Ceylon, but to the whole of British India—namely, how far interference is justifiable with the industrial ways of the people of India, and how far we may insist on education as being of undoubted advantage to the development of the people or of the individual.

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

Although we all of us know the disadvantages of education, and we also know that education is in no way a cure for vice or crime, but rather that it has a tendency to change its character and its direction, I think we may assent that, with regard to primary education, Mr. Wise has proved his point, and that the Government should insist—I say *insist*—that in all estates governed by Englishmen, or English companies, the children of a school-going age on those estates should have, not extensive, but reasonable facilities for obtaining primary education. It is very little to ask, and I think that neither would planters be oppressed by it, nor would companies at all object to it. I have been associated with companies of this description. There is a company in Egypt, of which I am chairman, and which holds the monopoly for the salt of the whole of Egypt. I visited our school there. Every child of our workmen attends that school—Copts, Syrians, Egyptians, English, all learning together, a most charming sight, under a very skilful schoolmistress. We never had any pressure brought to bear on us to found a school of that sort. I think it is a duty which every company and every English planter owes to the children working on his estate. If the excuse be made that it takes from their hours of work, I think the hours of work should reasonably be curtailed under such conditions as to allow some sort of training. Whether the difficulties have been all foreseen, whether it be possible in Ceylon to obtain teachers—not of Cingalese, remember, but of Tamil—I do not know. The language which I presume these coolie children speak is not pure Tamil, but a patois: a patois difficult to teach; and if you teach pure Tamil I doubt whether it would be very much use to them. These are questions which can only be decided locally. Sir West Ridgeway is a man of great energy and intelligence. I speak with much knowledge of him, because he served under me in Afghanistan in very critical times, and I think this must be left to people on the spot to decide. I think there are two or three gentlemen present who have personal knowledge of Ceylon. One is a gentleman who himself is at the head of a Cingalese college, Mr. Samuel Lee, and the director, I think, of a mission college; and there is Mr. John Hill, who is Secretary to the London Diocesan Board of Education, who was formerly of the Ceylon Education Department. I trust both those gentlemen will favour us with a few remarks. I was surprised to hear the objection raised by some people spoken of by Mr. Wise, which certainly seems of an astonishing character—what we might call the infanticide argument. I have often heard objections to education, and, indeed, I hinted at one or two myself just now, but I have never heard education put in so terrible a form that a mother is prepared to kill her child rather than allow it to go to school. This seems to me to add to education a new and additional terror. Mr. Wise has stated that this is an absurd and an exaggerated view, and I have not the least doubt that it is so. All the education that is wanted to give to these children is a more or less elementary education, absolutely devoid of all tincture of proselytism, and confined, I should hope, to reading, writing, and the merest elementary arithmetic, which will enable the pupil to escape from the clutches of his local shopkeeper. I would even throw overboard the national history and

the elements of geography, which would only tend to confuse the coolie rather than be of any advantage to him.

MR. SAMUEL G. LEE, B.A., Principal City College, Colombo, as a Jaffna Tamil of Ceylon, was glad of an opportunity to say a few words. He thought there would be considerable difficulties attending the introduction of compulsory education into Ceylon. He would suggest that the Ceylon Government should give liberal grants to the estate schools. They should also give good buildings for school purposes and residence of teachers, and teachers should be trained to carry on the work of primary schools. He also thought that if a certain number of acres—say from five to ten acres—could be set aside for school purposes, and the Kindergarten system adopted, it would be a good thing. The children should be taught tea-planting and collecting on a small scale. There seemed to be an idea among planters that if these people were educated they would dislike labour. There was some truth in that, and hence industrial training must be given from the very beginning. In England labour was dignified, but in Ceylon it was dishonourable. He strongly objected to the word “coolie,” which was a degrading word. (Applause.) It means a “hireling.” It is better to call them Tamil “labourers,” or Tamil “workmen.”

MR. JOHN HILL (formerly of the Ceylon Education Department) said he had been out of touch with Ceylon educational affairs for more than twenty years, and was, perhaps, hardly qualified to express an opinion upon the present aspect of things. Thirty-three years ago he started for the Ceylon Government a normal college in Colombo, which was very successful. He trained a large number of teachers, many of whom he believed to be still usefully employed as inspectors of schools and teachers in the Government, English, Anglo-vernacular, and vernacular schools of the Island; but shortly after he left that work was abandoned by the Government, who were, apparently, more anxious to save the revenue than to improve the education of the Island. He had heard Mr. Wise's paper with much interest, and thanked him for it, but he was disappointed to find that the estate coolie now was in scarcely a better position in regard to the education of his children than he was twenty-five years ago. The means for training teachers having been destroyed, any new system would have to start *de novo*. The provision of teachers—not of necessity highly cultured, but still trained in ordinary school methods—should proceed, *pari passu*, with the construction of suitable school buildings. Moreover, before anything can be done in Ceylon to establish new estate schools, the method by which the Government grants are now distributed must be entirely changed. They should not be based on the exploded individual examination system, but should be liberal, and be based upon the average attendance and upon the general efficiency of the school, as tested by inspectors. The proprietors of the estates must provide suitable buildings.

The CHAIRMAN said he supposed a very simple building was all that was necessary.

MR. HILL replied that that was so. The ordinary average jungle-school, as he remembered it, consisted simply of a cadjan-covered roof, some posts, and a low mud wall round, and the floor was of mud. A building of that

sort could be put up for £30 to £40 at the most to accommodate from 50 to 100 children.

DR. DUNCAN said his qualifications for addressing the meeting were that he had been thirty years in Madras as an educational officer, and had served for many years as Director of Public Instruction, one of whose duties it was to superintend the provisions made for the elementary instruction of the class of the community from which the coolies in Ceylon are drawn. He had, moreover, for nearly twenty years been in the habit of spending his summer vacation in Ceylon on coffee or tea estates. He therefore knew the Tamil coolie class in the land of his adoption as well as in the land of his birth. Mr. Wise's paper corroborated what he had himself learned in his visits to Ceylon. He doubted whether the Madras Government could make any condition with the Ceylon Government as to the education of the coolies transferred to Ceylon. On the whole, however, he thought Mr. Wise's scheme modest and workable. He was not himself so pessimistic as Mr. Hill with regard to education in Ceylon, nor did he think there would be any difficulty in obtaining the class of teacher required. Mr. Lee's proposals he thought too ambitious, so much so that if attempted they would wreck Mr. Wise's scheme altogether. Very little need be spent on school buildings. There were generally buildings suited for school purposes on the estate. Where there were no such buildings he was sure the proprietors, with the aid of the coolies, would be quite willing to erect them. He thought also that to insist on five acres of land being devoted to school purposes would wreck the proposal. Planters could not afford in these days to set apart so much valuable land for a school garden. Nor did he think the teaching of tea-planting and tea-making necessary in these schools, for the children saw the whole process going on around them every day. Mr. Wise's scheme was, he thought, thoroughly practicable, if only the Government of Ceylon would advance a little more money in the form chiefly of grants-in-aid.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you think, from your experience, there would be any difficulty in making the planters or companies do the little that is required? The school building practically costs nothing. What would be the pay of the teacher?

DR. DUNCAN: Fifteen to twenty rupees a month.

THE CHAIRMAN: Why should the Government do everything? Cannot the estate do so small a thing as that?

DR. DUNCAN thought there would be no difficulty in getting many of the proprietors to provide a school, but if efficient schools were to be established in sufficient numbers, it would be necessary for Government to assist, and he was sure such aid would be forthcoming. It was not proposed that the Government should do everything. He saw no reason why the grant-in-aid system, which had done so much for elementary instruction on the mainland, should not prove equally successful on the estates in Ceylon.

MR. FERGUSON, a Ceylon planter, said he had had a school on his estate for the last twenty-eight years for his coolies, which showed that they

were not all against education. He rose to oppose the paper. He first objected to the Chairman's remarks that all Englishmen in charge of estates in Ceylon should be forced to educate the children. About nine-tenths of them were Scotchmen, and he liked the word "British" used. As to the teaching the children pure Tamil, there were two distinct dialects besides the patois, but the children should be taught the pure Tamil. He did not quite know on what authority Mr. Wise came before them to-day. He understood he had only had about two years' experience.

MR. WISE: Nearly five years. The question, too, is not a very abstruse one.

MR. FERGUSON said Mr. Wise had made one or two slips. The Cingalese were not the original inhabitants of Ceylon; they came from the north of India. Then Mr. Wise had spoken of the Prince of Wales when Duke of York visiting the island. The Duke of York when he visited Ceylon was a mere boy, and probably his brother, Prince Victor, was meant. With regard to the attendance of the children at school, the rule was that they should attend from two to four. The children were not deprived of their pay for those two hours. In the case of companies, of course, that expense would fall on shareholders, who might object. He thought Mr. Wise's suggestion as to children attending from four to six would work great hardship, because of the custom prevailing of taking their food at that time. The children were the best workers they had. They could not be compared with other countries—British Guiana, for instance. The proprietors would object to their best workers being taken away. Another very strong objection was spoken of by Mr. Lee and Mr. Hill: that the coolies coming from South India objected to education. He knew they had great objection to their children going to school, and if they insisted on their going they might stop their coming from India.

MR. WISE, in reply, said he did not think there would be any difficulty in obtaining teachers. Mr. Harward, the Director of Public Instruction, had said that the question of providing the necessary minimum education for the estate population did not present any very great difficulties, and if there had been a lack of teachers, Mr. Harward would have pointed out that as a difficulty. With regard to what had been called the infanticide argument, what he understood was meant was that the mothers would commit that terrible crime from the fear that, their children having to attend school, would earn less money, and that was seriously argued in the Ceylon newspapers. Of course, they could not compare Ceylon with British Guiana; but Mr. Everard in Thurm, who held an important post in British Guiana, had stated that the Tamil coolie parents gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of having their children educated, which would seem to be an answer to Mr. Ferguson's argument. With regard to the buildings, on most estates there were outbuildings which could be used, and the simpler and less costly the buildings the better. He spoke with some fear and trembling in the presence of members of educational departments, but there always seemed to be the idea present in their minds that the furniture must be spick and span and in first-rate con-

dition. That was not in the least necessary. The children could sit on the floor, and did not want chairs and tables. Mr. Ferguson had misunderstood him with regard to Madras. He had no idea that the Madras Government should send money to Ceylon, but that as in the past the Indian Government had interfered with regard to the medical attendance of coolies, so he thought, the care of the mind being no less important than the care of the body, the Madras Government might insist on some simple elementary education being provided for the children.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think you will agree with me in voting thanks to our lecturer for his very interesting paper. (Applause.) This seems a very simple local question, but it is of great interest, and it is of far-reaching importance. It has been a great advantage to us that we have had to-day men like Dr. Duncan and Mr. Ferguson, who is so intelligent a representative of the British planters of Ceylon. I am very glad to hear from him that so large a proportion of the planters are Scotchmen, because that is a guarantee that the tea industry of Ceylon will be a great success in the future. I do not wish to make another speech, but I do want to emphasize what our lecturer just now said about expense. This was why in my few remarks I laid great stress on doing it cheaply and doing it through the planters. Directly you get the Department of Education in, you get people who insist on teaching the children exactly what they do not want to know, exactly what would do them no good during the future course of their life, and who will insist upon all sorts of expensive and useless paraphernalia. The Department of Public Instruction in India (and I say this with the most ample knowledge, because I have been Chief Secretary in a province which had a great deal of public education under it) teach from the wrong books; they do everything in the worst and most stupid way possible. What I want is to give these children the minimum of such an education as every human being ought to have. That is all you want to do for a coolie. You want none of your colleges, and your missions, and your buildings, and your public grants. You do not want anything of the sort. Teaching under a tree, which was all we had in the Panjab in the old days, is what is wanted. Every man of my age in the Panjab got his teaching under a tree. Where else was he taught? There was not a school in the province, not a building. You can learn just as well under a tree as in the pretentious buildings of a Department, which only cost a great deal of money, and which are to the people who use them only a prison-house. Mr. Ferguson represents the men who have really done what we are talking about. He has established schools on his estate and taught the children. No doubt he saw that they were taught just what they wanted and what would do them good for life. Let us keep as clear of the Department of Public Instruction as sensible people can manage to do, because too often in India it is a curse and not a blessing. (Applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.



## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## THE BUDDHIST ASSEMBLY IN JAPAN.

SIR,

I have much pleasure in sending you some very brief particulars of the great assemblage of Buddhist prelates of all the Japanese sects convened at Ten O ji (Shi-four-ten-celestial kings' temple—*i.e.*, the Theatur Maha Rajas), on the 9th to 14th (inclusive) days of May, to celebrate the thirteenth centennial anniversary of the Imperial Crown Prince, Sho-toku Ko Tai Shi (Holy, Virtuous, Regal Prince), who was the first great patron of Buddhism, and who led to victory the Buddhists who subdued the rebellious supporters of the indigenous cultus nature-worship, etc., *circa* seventh century A.D. (died A.D. Y.W.U.). The principal sects—*viz.*, the Ten-dai, Shin-gon (Mantra), Hok-ke-Nichiren, Jodo, and Zen, together with the new Jo-do now calling itself the true sect, and the numerous smaller sects and sub-sects, the most important of which are the Kego (Avatamsata Sutra), the Hos-so (Dharma lakshana, etc.), the Vinaya, etc.—put in an appearance in great numbers, and each of the five days, from early morn till sundown, took in their turn the processional perambulation of the precincts of the famous ancient fane, erected, under the direction of Sho tok Tai shi, in commemoration of the foundation of Buddhism in Japan on a secure foundation, after overcoming all opposition.

From the great altar in the great quadrangle of the main hall I addressed the immense concourse therein assembled to see the processions of prelates in their gorgeous vestments with the paraphernalia of the sects, etc., borne in state.

I spoke on the forenoons and the afternoons, joining the processional perambulations, with the Lord Abbots of the Orders, of which I am an initiate of—to wit :

The "Shugen" (Yama-bushi) of the Tendai Sho-go In

of Mi-Idera, and of the Shin-gon of Dai-go Sam-bo (three treasures), Yamashina, etc.

The Shin-go (Mantra); the Tendai; the Jo-do (*i.e.*, Sukhavati, or so-called Pure Land); the Zen (Dhyana)—*i.e.*, Contemplative, or Meditative (Quietists), etc.

I wore the vestments and carried the mala (rosaries), and the "Nu-ye" wand of Upadhaya, and the "Chiu-ke" fan of a prelate, and the stoles indicated my rank in the Orders. While preaching from the high altars I wore different cassocks, stoles, etc., each time, according to the sect I had previously perambulated with.

A large stage was erected in front of the great altar in the main hall of the central temple of the monastery, and on it there was a succession of performances by trained experts on the archaic, historical, and legendary dramatic plays, the actors being robed in gorgeous costumes—Mythical pieces, in which the butterfly and brilliant plumage of birds was imitated in the head-dress and trailing brocades, wings, etc., fairy tales, etc., illustrated.

Seven centuries ago there was such a gathering, but this was really the first assemblage in the extreme Orient of so large an assemblage of Buddhist sacerdotals.

A few days previously there was successfully cast a bell, probably the largest now in existence, which still awaits being raised from the deep pit in which the mould was constructed, and a belfry erected over it *in situ*.

The dimensions are: height, W.Y., 26 feet; circumference outside, 54 feet; diameter of mouth inside, 16 feet; thickness of lip, 1 foot 7 inches; estimated weight (calculated by metal used), about 35,000 pounds avoirdupois.

This is by far the largest bell of bronze in existence, and the large percentage of the metal used is the votive offerings gathered during many years from all parts of the country, mainly the bronze and silver alloy mirrors of the Japanese women's toilette, now being superseded by modern glass-silvered mirrors, etc.

Extensive cloisters were erected to accommodate the

assemblage of "Ban-So" (*i.e.*, A Myriad of Bonzes). The function was a great success altogether.

I have been presented with the Patra (Japanese, "Tetzupatsu")—*i.e.*, "Iron Bowl"—the Buddha's mendicant bowl, as were the senior prelates present at the grand assembly above-mentioned this month; and the other articles, including a lacquered sheet, and the implements for eating in accordance with the Vinaya (discipline rules, etc.).

The Orientalists' International Union is steadily growing, though quietly; and adherents are flowing increasingly, the adhesion forms coming in by every mail.

I am now arranging for Congresses, or series of weekly conferences and lectures, etc., in Osaka during the time the National Exposition is open there. The Grand Abbots of the principal Buddhist Orders and chief monasteries (cathedrals) are cordially approving and affording me sympathetic support; many will attend in state with their retinues of sacerdotals (bonzes), selected for their eloquence and erudition.

The surplus metal from the casting of the great bell is being utilized to cast miniature replica models, which will be distributed to the active workers in the organization of the grand assembly, and in conducting to success the collection of funds and material for the bell and the buildings.

There will be services held daily, forenoon and afternoon, in the quadrangle of Ten Oji, and on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, when the Exposition is closed, and no illuminations and night attractions, there will be given lectures in the large hall, recently erected in the centre of the city of Osaka specially on account of the Exposition, which accommodates about 2,000 chairs on the floors, galleries, and platform, etc. Japanese religion, ethics, and philosophy will be the principal subjects; but there will be lectures on Art, in the interest of exhibitors and those employed in the production of the best Art work in accordance with the traditional best Art canons of old-time Japanese Art virtuosi and connoisseurs.

The St. Louis World's Fair bulletin contained a long and very complimentary notice of my projects to the Orientalists' International Union, my proposals regarding an Orientalists' Congress in St. Louis next year; and in Portland the following year I hope to also initiate an Orientalists' Congress.

CAPTAIN C. J. W. PFOUNDEN.

KOBE, JAPAN,

May 28, 1903.

THE PEASANT PROPRIETORS OF INDIA.

SIR,

Mr. Dutt, in the article on the "Peasant Proprietors of India,"\* printed in the October issue of your *Review*, has made some remarks with regard to the Bombay Settlements of Land Revenue which are so incorrect that I consider it necessary, having been connected with the Revenue Survey from the year 1850, in which the Settlement of the Province of Gujarát was commenced, to put the public right in the matter. He makes the common mistake of Mr. Digby and others, who are unacquainted with the subject, in assuming that Bombay Settlement Officers fix the assessments arbitrarily, without consulting the cultivators and without the control of District Officers. It is the fact that every Settlement Report from the commencement has passed through the hands of the Collectors of Districts and the Revenue Commissioners of Divisions on its way to sanction from the Bombay Government, as well as through Survey and Settlement Commissioners when these existed, and that the proposals have frequently been altered or modified. The careful manner in which every detail is worked out in the reports forms the subject of a letter from Mr. T. R. Fernandez in the same number of the *Review*†, and to this I beg to call particular attention as refuting several allegations of Mr. Dutt's, such as that a Settlement Officer has to base his calculations for revision on the estimated produce of 100,000 holdings, etc. No Bombay Officer is such a fool as to think of making any such attempt, for he knows it would be impossible to arrive at a fair estimate of such produce. If Mr. Dutt had read the joint report of Messrs. Goldsmid, Wingate, and Davidson, which he acknowledges is the basis of the Bombay revenue system, he could not have framed such a sentence, for it is directly contrary to the fact. As to the cavalier manner in which the hereditary peasant proprietors of the Deccan have been treated, this is a great mistake. The real fact is that they are much better off as Survey Occupants than as Mirásdars, for as such they could not relinquish their holdings if they found them too heavy, whereas as Survey Occupants they can in any year give up any field in a holding, while they can still mortgage or sell it as they formerly did. The

\* See article, October, 1903, pp. 231-244.

† See October, 1903, pp. 393-403.

agrarian riots that took place in 1875 were brought about, not by the heaviness of the assessments, but in consequence of the change in the law of limitation referred to by Mr. Dutt, and this was clearly acknowledged by the Commission that inquired into those riots. The enhancements of assessment in the talukahs of Pábal, Indápur, etc., referred to by Sir Auckland Colvin, were caused chiefly by land that, on the first introduction of Survey Settlements, had, with a view to save expense in cutting it up into Survey fields, been classed as "unarable," and was, therefore, not assessed, having, in the course of the thirty years' settlement, been taken up and cultivated. This, under the revision, had naturally to be paid for. An increase of over cent. per cent. in many cases, of course, sounded tremendous, but it only meant that for a number of years a rayat had deliberately cribbed out of the "unarable" land an area equal to his proper field and not paid for it, until the fact was discovered on the inquiries necessarily made for the revision. An explanation such as this is the last thing adverse critics who had never seen a *rayatwari* settlement would look for, or even desire to see, if it ran counter to their preconceived ideas of settlement by villages. Mr. Dutt says, with regard to Madras, that it was decided by the Court of Directors in 1856 that the whole economic rent was not to be taken, but only a portion of the rent as land revenue, and, by Sir C. Wood in 1864, that this demand should be limited to about one-half of the economic rent. To anyone who has gone through the details of a Bombay Settlement, this proportion is decidedly too high, for, as a rule, the assessments do not come to more than one-seventh or one-eighth of the produce. I should like to know on what authority Mr. Dutt states that in 1900 the Government revenue in Gujarat was found to be nearly double the rents of private landlords in Bengal. The statement is probably one of those vague general assertions that modern critics have been adopting, and which cannot be fairly accepted without detailed inquiry. When the great increase referred to was taking place in the Deccan assessments, the Bombay Government restricted the increase that was to be allowed to 33 per cent. in the case of a whole talukah, 66 per cent. in the case of a whole village, and double in that of an individual holder, for fear of unduly burdening the ryots. Of this Mr. Dutt takes no notice whatever. It is to be hoped the next critic will not jump to the conclusion that these limits are meant to be worked up to in all cases. They are, in reality, only maximum limits which will probably only be reached in extreme cases under unusual circumstances, such as those of the Deccan villages mentioned above.

I beg to inform Mr. Dutt that the Bombay *rayat* does know on what grounds a Settlement Officer in Bombay can propose an enhancement of his rent. They are simply those of an increase in the general value of agricultural produce, and of an improvement in his markets by the construction of railroads or other roads that will open them up. It is true that he cannot go into a civil court and object to an assessment on his land; but where are the judges of civil courts who would be competent from training and practice to criticise a Settlement Officer's proceedings? To allow an appeal to a civil judge in such a case would be to allow the blind to lead

the seeing. A critic should only speak with full knowledge, and this I maintain Mr. Dutt has not of the rayatwari systems of Southern and Western India.

A. ROGERS.

*December, 1903.*

# INDIAN REVENUE AND LAND SYSTEMS.

SIR,

Agreeing, as I do cordially, with most of the contents of the article on "Indian Revenue and Land Systems"\* by General Fischer, in the October issue of the *Quarterly*, there are one or two points that I would desire to bring to notice in which there is room for differences of opinion. With regard to the currency policy adopted, by which the rate of exchange with gold-using countries has fortunately been brought to a tolerably stable level, thus preventing the mere gambling to which trade with foreign countries had been reduced when that rate was fluctuating violently, I confess I cannot see why he should take for granted that people at home should be said to be compelled to pay more for remitting money to India. Forcing up the rate of exchange has not affected the value of a rupee as a current coin in India, and the value of produce is not affected by it, for that rate only needs to come into calculation when the silver in it is measured against gold when it leaves the country. The price of Indian produce is regulated by that in the markets of the world, and a merchant can always save himself from loss by exchange, because this, so to speak, is an adjustable commodity; moreover, the *rayat* has himself been greatly benefited by forcing up the rate of exchange, for if the cost of remitting money to England to meet home expenses had not been largely reduced by such means, he would have had to be taxed more and more in order to meet those expenses as the value of silver measured in gold fell lower and lower. I do not admit that merchants have to pay more than they ought for the privilege of remitting money to India through the Government treasury. If such were the case, why should not remittance be effected by other means? People would no longer make use of the former if the cost did not compare favourably with that of sending out bullion instead of Council bills with which to meet payments for Indian produce. There can be no doubt that it is the duty of the Government to take in hand all legitimate means for the development of the industry and trade of India, or that, if the chief of those means—viz., the extension of irrigation and water communication—had not been allowed to wait so entirely, as it has been hitherto, on the improvement of land communication by means of railways, greater results would ere this have been shown in the advancement of agricultural resources; but it must never be forgotten that the construction of railways all over the country has not, at all events, put an end to real famine—that is to say, that there need now never be any lack of food to eat in even the most remote districts, and that, whenever scarcity prevails, it is never caused by actual absence of food, but one of money to buy it with. This was undoubtedly the first necessity, and now that this has been applied, to

\* See October number, 1903, pp. 245-291.

a great extent, it is high time the advancement of the land by the extension of irrigation and the improvement of local roads and canals for the conveyance of produce to market and rail should be taken in hand in earnest. This is a matter beyond the influence of the Kutcherry Brahminism, of which General Fischer, in my opinion, makes too much. No doubt such influence prevails in some parts of India, and from a remark I once heard made by a well-known Madras civilian to another, when we were speaking of assessments to the land revenue, it would rather seem to be unusually prevalent in that Presidency. The remark was to this effect: "You know, So-and-so, I always thought those rates (in some particular district of which I have forgotten the name) were too high, but the Brahmins would not let me lower them!" But I know that civilians are not so subservient in some parts, and believe they are not, as a rule, in most of India.

I agree with General Fischer in condemning the system of keeping the arrears of land revenue accumulated in unfavourable seasons hanging over a *rayat's* head, like the sword of Damocles, until a more prosperous year enables more to be squeezed out of him. This is not the first time, nor probably by any means the last, that I shall have inveighed against it as one of the chief causes of the *rayat's* now palpable, though till lately hidden, miserable state of subjection to the money-lender. With a people living, as they do, from hand to mouth, the system must inevitably have the same result, and it should be the duty of the Collectors of land revenue to see that arrears are not allowed to accumulate, but should be written off in the village books, if they are still exhibited, in which the village authorities will make a point of pressing for and collecting them by hook or by crook, which means either the usurer or the eviction of the *rayat* from his land—witness the annual Madras Settlement Reports, from which there appear to be every year from 10,000 to 12,000 evictions, affecting 50,000 to 60,000 individuals. The author of the article, however, is not justified in his attack on the Indian authorities generally for, although they know better, adopting the most crude land-revenue system ever heard of, for neglecting the interests of all the subjects placed under them by God in favour of a caste system based on the grossest selfishness and a stupid superstition. What this is precisely, or what he would do to get rid of it, is not very clear, but he seems disposed to let the assessment vary every year with the actual out-turn of the season. If so, no words of condemnation can be too strong for the idea, for it would hand over the *rayat*, bound hand and foot, into the power of low-paid village revenue underlings. I speak in the matter from personal experience, for I had in former days to administer, or rather *laissez aller*, that very system, until I was instrumental in superseding it by the Bombay Revenue Survey and Settlement. It has the effect of deadening all industry and stopping all progress, for a man cannot under it call what he earns his own, but must share it with the State. Under it must come, in the method of annual appraisalment of crops, the delays attendant on such appraisalment, intrigues as to the prices at which produce has to be sold, etc., which can only be done away with by the simple assessment of a money rent placed upon the land itself at such a moderate figure as to leave a considerable margin over and

above it, in order to give the land a saleable value in the market worth a man's while to leave as hereditary property for his family.

I have no room in this letter to go into the details of the several irrigation projects noticed by General Fischer. If it is true that the Commission that has lately reported to the Government of India on such projects assigns a long period of years in which they are to be carried out, I do not concur in the recommendation. As, if properly considered, irrigation projects in India must pay handsomely, why should not a loan be raised to carry them out without any avoidable delay, with a sinking-fund calculated to pay off the loan in a certain number of years? We should strike at once while the iron is hot.

A. ROGERS.

*December, 1903.*

### INDIAN TAXATION: THE SALT TAX.

SIR,

I am very reluctant to weary your readers with what is, perhaps, a mere academic discussion, but it is so important there should be no mistake about the necessity for repealing the Salt Tax as soon as possible that I should like space for a very short reply to Sir Charles Roe's friendly letter.\*

It is quite true, as he says, that "the poor live from hand to mouth," and that "the amount spent on salt is insignificant"; but that is the very thing we complain of—viz., that the people are dangerously stinted in their consumption of a necessary of life, and that their health and the health of their cattle suffer in consequence, because its price is artificially made exorbitant by the monopoly. I am not very sanguine on the point, but I shall certainly not be surprised if as much money as before is spent on salt at the reduced rate; if so, that will be so much gained in the health of the country, and may even mean less plague.

As to my sporting suggestion that the "prosperous" 60 millions of Mr. Digby's romance should pay the bulk of the £6,000,000 raised by the present tax, Sir Charles has, perhaps, failed to notice that the 12 million heads of the families which make up 60 million would include all the zemindars and other prosperous persons of the land-holding class who are not, I believe, assessed to the Income Tax. I am not, of course, responsible for Mr. Digby's figures, but a considerably less number of such prosperous people—say even 6 millions of families—could well afford to pay, say, 15 Rs. a year for the blessing of unlimited salt, and so balance the account.

The fact that the people who had to pay double for their salt would not like it at first is probable enough, but I am sanguine enough to believe that they would soon see the sense of it, and appreciate the actual benefit to themselves of free salt, to say nothing of the relief to their poorer neighbours.

As to the other point, I said before that it was "quite a minor matter." But it is annoying to have statements put into one's mouth as is done by the Government of India in the resolution which naturally misled Sir

\* See October number, pp. 407-410.



Charles. He is, of course, in no way responsible for their mistake, but he is mistaken again if he means to imply that we said that no individual ryot should ever pay more than 20 per cent. of the gross. We said (as Sir Charles says) that "no individual should *ordinarily* pay more than 20 per cent." As two of the signatories hailed from Tinnevely, where one of them had himself assessed all the best land in the Tambraparni Valley at, probably, more than 20 per cent. of the gross, we could hardly have had the audacity to recommend that no one should *ever* be called upon to pay more.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

*December, 1903.*

### MALARIA IN INDIA AND THE COLONIES.

SIR,

In a recent journal of the Royal Colonial Institute we have the pleasure of referring our readers to Major Ross's paper on "Malaria in India and the Colonies." No fuller or more interesting report on this subject has ever been laid before the public, and the large and appreciative audience that filled the Whitehall Rooms in the Hôtel Métropole on November 10 last listened with close attention to the marvellous results obtained by the application of the new methods which the discovery of the real causes of the malady has unfolded for its extirpation, and the successful results obtained thereby. With regard to the kind of diseases and their numbers which are common to India, malaria heads the list in point of numbers and mortality, and holds second rank in the number of patients constantly sick in a catalogue of nine separate diseases, comprising 42,951 patients in hospital, with 649 deaths, giving a percentage of 15.11 of mortality and 2,769 "constantly sick," these statistics being given for 1900. In Algeria and Sierra Leone malaria is even more prevalent and fatal, and in Italy 15,000 die annually. The old idea, held most tenaciously by many, or, indeed, almost all, authorities conversant with the disease, that the poison was an exhalant from the pools and marshes of infected districts, is now completely exploded, and the marvellous results obtained by the preventive measures adopted show that the true origin of the malady has been discovered, and that with proper sanitary precautions it can be entirely extirpated. In Havana such means were used, and the disease in three years dropped in its mortality from 325 deaths to 21 for the first five months of the last year. The same happy results are given in Lagos, Hong Kong, and in the Malay Peninsula. The reduction in deaths in Ismailia is even more striking, giving 87 per cent. of cures.

Nor must it be forgotten that a very large number of invalids are by an attack of malarial fever rendered incapable of work for long periods, requiring months and even years before the constitution can throw off the dregs of the disease.

The appointment of a Sanitary Commission to inspect and report on all the infected districts is an absolute necessity, and the sooner an organized system is carried out with this end in view, the better it will be for all concerned. Statistics of the diseases most prevalent in these

localities, with periodical oversight, would stimulate the responsible health authorities to strive to show a clean bill of health in places under their control.

It is singular that the serum treatment has not been of use in this infectious disorder, and that to the microscope we are indebted for the discovery of the cause of the malady, and the means used for its prevention ; and it is equally remarkable that the therapeutic agent used for more than 200 years should be still the chief remedial agent in its cure. The Jesuits bark was brought into Spain in 1638, and it cured the Countess of Chin-chona in that year of ague, and from that time it was used over Europe as the chief curative agent in this disease ; and when the Dauphin of France was in like manner attacked, Louis XIV. asked King Charles II. of this country if he could send him a physician to cure the disease which the heir-apparent to his throne suffered from. Charles sent over Dr. Tabor (or Talbor?), who, in a consultation with two of the French King's physicians, was asked if he could give a definition of ague as a disease.

"Yes," replied the English doctor, "I can. Ague is a disease which you can't cure and I can ;" and he gave him the Jesuits' bark, and cured him, as he said he would, and received £5,000 and a knighthood.

I am, etc.,

GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

COLCHESTER,

*December 10.*

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#### RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST.

The following is a copy of the programme published for the guidance of the committee appointed under the presidency of Admiral Alexieff, Viceroy of the Far East : The administration of the district shall be declared independent in accordance with the provision of the general laws. The North Coast Province shall be made an independent district. Emigration affairs shall be regulated. Organized relations with the East China Railway shall be established for the regulation of its administration and the maintenance of contracts ; also the safety of settlers along the railway line shall be looked after. The doing of the military commissaries and the diplomatic officials shall always be conducted through one person. Prison affairs shall be regulated. The negligent working of mines shall be prevented. A special education district for the Far East shall be established and the administration of the Far Eastern territory is to be made as simple as possible.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EDWARD ARNOLD ; BEDFORD STREET, STRAND, LONDON, 1903.

1. *Three Rolling Stones in Japan*, by GILBERT WATSON. This volume is the result of two months' sojourn in Japan of three light-hearted friends on pleasure bent. Mr. Watson has made a very readable narrative out of mere trifling incidents. Short chapters are devoted to each excursion, and the author weaves into his story both fun and pathos. The scenes of everyday life are amusingly described, while effects of sunsets, rain, mist, and other phases of Nature, are dealt with in an excellent style. Like all other strangers and pilgrims to the Land of Sunrise, it was the gentle, lovable, womanly women that left tenderest recollections upon their memory. Mr. Watson's word-painting is vivid and fascinating, but, unfortunately, his book is marred by one or two chapters which, however much he may have been tempted at the time to put them together, would have been better left unpublished, particularly at this present time, when our friendship with Japan has reached a political alliance.—S.

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK ; LONDON, 1903.

2. *The Diary of a Turk*, by HALIL HALID, M.A., M.R.A.S. Containing eight illustrations. The author considers that, although Great Britain has played an important part in the problems of the Ottoman Empire, still the real position of its peoples is not fully understood ; hence, as a Turk, he has written his work from a Turkish point of view. He begins by telling us of his grandfather, his father's family circle, his own schoolboy days, the framework of domestic and social life, and many other particulars of much interest in the affairs of Turkey which could not have been seen or known by Europeans generally. He has endeavoured, with success, to correct many prevailing ideas in England with respect to the position of women and the upbringing and education of children. In the form of a diary he has thus been able to introduce to the English reader, with success, many topics of much interest. We cordially recommend a perusal of the work.

3. *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, by the late W. ROBERTSON SMITH-ADAMS, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. New edition, with additional notes by the author and by PROFESSOR IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, Budapest. Edited by STANLEY A. COOK, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 1903. The present edition of this well-known work, which appeared in 1885, is not a mere reprint. During the nine years which elapsed between its first publication and the author's death he had collected additional notes and references. When a second edition was called for, the new material was submitted to Professor Goldziher, a personal friend of Mr. Robertson Smith, but as he was unable to complete the task it was relegated to Mr. Cook, who has given effect to all the author's corrections, alterations, and additions, as well as other matters,

whether contributed by himself or others. Every effort has been made by Mr. Cook to maintain that degree of accuracy which was a marked characteristic of Mr. Robertson Smith. The work will be perused with fresh interest, as it contains much valuable information derived from recent discoveries and criticisms since the original work appeared. There are appended additional notes on a variety of subjects and a copious index

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, 1903.

4. *The Bayard of India*, by CAPTAIN LIONEL J. TROTTER. The person alluded to in the above honoured epithet is General Sir James Outram, and the volume so intituled is a "life" of him. So many-sided is the subject of the Sepoy Mutiny that volumes such as this are always welcome, every such volume containing, as it does, some special contribution to knowledge already existing. Works dealing with the Mutiny period *as a whole* are useful as presenting the subject in the form of connected narrative and in developing theories and questions of policy; but no acquaintance with the History of those stirring and terrible times can be found satisfactory to students of history that does not embrace the lives of the fearless and self-forgetting men who saved for the Crown our Indian Empire, and on whom, in the ordering of Providence, the responsibility of the times principally rested. Lives of Outram, Havelock, Neale, Wheeler, Gough, Sir Colin Campbell, and others the like exalted types of Christian manhood and British prowess, will always be interesting and always welcome.

The present biography tells, in some 300 pages, the story of this strong personality from the commencement of his life to its close; and inasmuch as the story of his connection with India formed so considerable a part of Outram's life, a very large portion of the volume is occupied with the terrible events of the Mutiny times. And since every biography of a man distinguished in any department of public life must of necessity include much of the history of the age in which he acted his part, and of the men who shared with him the burden and heat of the day, such a work as the present brings before us the names and splendid deeds of all the statesmen, administrators, and military heroes who were Outram's cotemporaries. It is, in short, a history of Outram's *time*.

The work is well written. From a literary point of view it will take a high place among works unfolding the story of military genius of the best order. Authorities are frequently named at the foot of the page, and the work is thorough without being dry. It is safe to say that no one for whom India has the well-known fascination would care to lay aside the book before reaching as far as the last page. To the large and increasing class of Englishmen who on various accounts pass the best working years of their lives in India, this volume will be interesting reading. It will hold an honoured place in every garrison library, as also in the collection of every military officer, while to young soldiers going to that mystic land for the first time the volume will afford information as stimulating and formative as it is thoroughly sound and trustworthy and helpful. Events follow one another so rapidly in these times that England is in some danger of for-

getting what she owes to the splendid fellows who saved our Eastern Dependency for us in those dark days in which the distinguished genius who forms the subject of this volume took his share. Such works as this enshrine for us narratives which no lover of the honour of his country and nation would care to forget. Upon the whole, it is a handsome volume, well printed, and has a good likeness of Outram on the opening page. At the end there are also several appendices and a good index.—B.

THOMAS BURLEIGH ; 376, STRAND, LONDON, 1903.

5. *New Lays of Ind. Personal Reminiscences of an Indian Civilian*, by ALEPH RÉ. This well-known Anglo-Indian has thrown together, in rhythm, some pleasant events which happened personally, or within his own knowledge, during his service in India. It brings back, in a pleasant form, the memories of joyous youth. The object of his "Lays" is to amuse and to give a glimpse of Indian life.

We quote the following as a specimen of style and sympathy :

#### THE LAY OF THE OLD HUNTER.

The hunter started as he heard  
That loud-tongued saddling-bell :  
It fired not, as of old, his blood,  
But tolled his parting knell.

'Midst crowds that gaped and fluttering flags,  
The races' gaudy show,  
He gave one look as if to say :  
"Oh, master, must I go?"

They did not see that mute appeal,  
Shot from the hunter's eye,  
And so old Bob must brace himself  
To conquer or to die.

It was not gain that urged him on,  
Nor gamester's treacherous luck ;  
No lottery gave his race its zest,  
But simply Arab pluck.

On, on, still on ! each hedge, each ditch,  
He bounded as of yore,  
Although he felt within himself  
His racing days were o'er.

The good old horse, though at each stride  
His breathing heavier grew,  
With one brave bound the hurdle cleared  
That brought the goal in view.

Fast ! 'tis the end ! To urge him on  
Both whip and spur were plied :  
Beat by a length, the good old nag  
Just passed the post—and died !

Staunch to the last, in honour's cause  
He spent his latest breath ;  
No equine foe that race had gained,  
Had Bob not fought with *death* !

A crowd came round his prostrate form,  
 The racing throng drew near :  
 A something glistened in each eye—  
 Let's hope it was a tear.

Whilst in each breast some feeling moved  
 Of pity for the steed,  
 Each hoped to boast, in life's short course,  
 Of some such noble deed.

C. J. CLAY AND SONS ; LONDON, 1903.

*Cambridge Historical Series, Cambridge University Press.*

6. *The Expansion of Russia, 1815-1900*, by FRANCIS HENRY SKRINE, F.S.S., H.M.'s Indian Civil Service (retired) ; author of "The Life of Sir William Wilson Hunter," "An Indian Journalist" (with E. D. Ross), "The Heart of Asia," etc.

The object of this "Historical Series" is to sketch the history of modern Europe, with that of its chief colonies and conquests, from about the end of the fifteenth century down to the present time. In one or two cases the story commences at an earlier date ; in the case of the Colonies it generally begins later. The series is edited by the well-known Professor of History, Dr. G. W. Prothero.

The present work is valuable, not only from its concise and correct statements of facts, but also as forming an excellent text-book for students in our higher seminaries and a handy work for the general reader. The letterpress is excellent. There is appended a bibliography of works on the whole subject published from time to time in London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, a copious index, and three well-executed maps, showing the Russian Empire in 1900, the Balkan Peninsula and Crimea, and the advance of Russia in the Caucasus and Central Asia during the nineteenth century.

MESSRS. HACHETTE AND CO. ; PARIS.

7. *Voyage au Maroc*, by E. MONTET. The learned Professor's interesting account of his explorations in Morocco appears in the well-known publication *Le Tour du Monde* beginning with July 18, 1903, and extending over eight consecutive numbers.

Apart from the geographical interest that the work possesses and the political hints that it contains, it gives some unique information about the Mussulman religious confraternities that exist in Morocco, and the investigation of which Professor Montet made a special point. We may remind our readers of his interesting article on the subject, entitled "The Religious Orders of Morocco," which appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1902.

Professor Montet also tells us of the great influence that the schools of the *Alliance israelite universelle* exercise ; that they are the only homes of learning in Morocco ; and that, should European civilization ever penetrate there, these schools will have greatly contributed to its expansion and diffusion.

He describes Morocco as a very rich country from an agricultural and mining point of view, but that not a mine is worked, and the administrative abuses and the semi-barbarous form of government to which the people are subjected make them wish for themselves a foreign intervention.

The itinerary of Professor Montet's journey was Tangiers, Larash, Mehedia, Rabat, Casa Blanca, Mazagan, Marakesh (Morocco), and thence through the great Atlas region to Mogador, where he abandoned the ordinary route and went further south, thus passing through places little known and some unexplored territories.

This interesting and valuable work is interspersed with a great number of most excellent illustrations, reproductions of photos of Dr. Weissgerber and drawings of Messrs. Massias, Taylor, Mignon, Lanée, etc.

We congratulate Professor Montet on having completed his task so successfully, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to encounter, and also on having published the results of his researches in such an acceptable form.

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HARPER AND BROTHERS; LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1903.

8. *The First of Empires, "Babylon of the Bible" in the Light of Latest Research: An Account of the Origin, Growth, and Development of the Empire, Civilization, and History of the Ancient Babylonian Empire, from the Earliest Times to the Consolidation of the Empire in B.C. 2,000*, by W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN, author of "From under the Dust of Ages," "Hebrew Tradition in the Light of the Monuments," "British Museum Lectures," etc.

The volume is exceedingly well got up, with index, numerous illustrations, and important appendices. The author in a preface explains the scope and intention of compiling the work. He says: "In the world of Oriental research during the last half-century the labours of the explorer and the decipherer have produced such astonishing results as to revolutionize all the former ideas as to the nature and character of Oriental nations. The work of the spade in Egypt, in Chaldea, and in the nearer East has produced evidence of civilization, organized communities, and empires of widespread influence totally undreamt of but a few years ago." The titles of the chapters will indicate the scope and nature of the work—"The Lands of Nimrod," "Beginnings of Babylonian Civilization," "Egypt and the Chaldea," "The City Kingdoms," "The Garden of the Orient," "Khammurabi the Great," "The Code of Khammurabi," "Laws of Khammurabi," "The Beginnings of Literature." The author, however, too much ignores the authenticity of Bible narratives.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY, 1903.

9. *Three Frenchmen in Bengal; or, The Commercial Ruin of the French Settlements in 1757*, by S. C. HILL, B.A., B.Sc., officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India; author of "Major-General Claud Martin." With maps and plans.

It was a kind as well as a happy thought which prompted Mr. Hill to rescue from possible oblivion these memorials of the brave Frenchmen

who represented the interests of their country in Bengal at the time when Clive formed his design of creating a British Empire in India. Apart from the light which they throw upon the political intrigues of the native Courts and the chaotic state of the country generally under the misrule which everywhere prevailed and invited European interference, the narratives now given to the public have a personal, though melancholy, interest of their own. They are the frank and dignified apologies of men who had indeed been worsted in a most unequal contest, but who struggled to the last in the face of extraordinary difficulties, and maintained in all their trials a sense of honour and humanity which extorted the admiration of their enemies.

Up to the time when Clive was despatched from Madras to rescue Calcutta from the clutches of Sirájuddaula, the relations between the French and English settlements in Bengal had always been of a friendly nature, presenting in this respect a marked difference from the state of things in Southern India. Whereas in the latter region French and English troops were often arrayed against each other, while peace prevailed between the mother countries, in Bengal it had been the object of both settlements to maintain a friendly neutrality even when the mother countries were at war. Moreover, under the strong government of Sirájuddaula's predecessor quarrels between the rival settlements had been discouraged, and there was a prohibition against the fortification of their towns. Thus, although Clive had made up his mind to oust the French from Bengal before he started from Madras, we find the French chiefs long after that date still cherishing the hope that a neutrality would be maintained, and refusing on that account to give any assistance to Sirájuddaula in his personal quarrel with the English. More than a year after Chandernagore had been besieged and taken by Clive, in pursuance of his long-formed resolution, M. Courtin expresses his firm belief in a letter to his wife that the English would never have broken the neutrality if they had not considered the French an obstacle in the way of their vengeance on the Nawab; whereas it is clear that the French were as much disgusted as the English at the cruelty and incapacity of Sirájuddaula, and would gladly have seen him replaced by a better Governor. This, however, would not have suited Clive's scheme of conquest. His object was to get rid of the French in the first place, and be free to deal with the Nawab himself.

Mr. Hill's volume is arranged in three sections, to which a short preliminary sketch of the events is prefixed. The first deals with the siege and capture of Chandernagore, with which M. Renault, the Director of all the French *in Bengal*, but subordinate to the Governor of Pondicherry, is identified. The second deals with the French Agency at Cossimbazar, the European suburb of Murshidabad, and recounts the proceedings of M. Law at the Nawab's capital up to the date of his expulsion, and then his wanderings in Upper India, and his attempts to re-establish a French influence in Bengal in opposition to Clive, until his capture at the Battle of Suan. The third takes us to the outlying settlement at Dacca, of which M. Courtin was chief, and describes his adventures, after the closing of the factory, in North-Eastern Bengal and on the confines of Thibet up to



the time when he, too, was compelled to avail himself of Clive's gratitude for his former kindnesses to the English nation and make his way south in order to leave Bengal for ever.

The narratives of each series of events are given, as far as possible, in the words (translated into English) of the chief actors. The most interesting, perhaps, on account of the variety of their adventures, are those of M. Law and M. Courtin. Neither of these gentlemen had been brought up to the profession of arms; the forces at their disposal in neither case exceeded 150 men, and consisted of a few volunteers and such mercenary adventurers of all races, but chiefly Asiatic, as they could collect together. Yet M. Courtin maintained himself in Upper Bengal for a full year after he had been forced to leave Dacca, and M. Law made a tour of the North-West as far as Dehli, and continued to prosecute his designs for resisting the encroachments of the English until three years had elapsed from the capture of Chandernagore. M. Courtin describes with some humour how, after he had constructed a small fort on a site given to him by the Rája of Dinájpur, he became for a few months the most important chief in the neighbourhood, and received an embassy from the King of Thibet. Both M. Courtin and M. Law were sustained by the hope that the French would despatch a force to invade Bengal from the sea, in which case they might have rendered valuable assistance from the interior. As we know, the opportunity was neglected by the French Government of the day, and Clive's strong will established the British predominance in this province so firmly that a fresh chance never occurred.

The volume is well printed, and is furnished with maps and plans, a good index, and, wherever necessary, with explanatory footnotes and references to the authorities quoted. W.

10. *Fasciculi Malayenses. Anthropological and Zoological Results of an Expedition to Perak and the Siamese Malay States, 1901-1902.* Published for the University Press of Liverpool by Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, and Bombay, 1903. Parts I. and II. These publications, well printed and illustrated, are the result of an expedition undertaken by Nelson Annandale and Herbert C. Robinson under the auspices of the University of Edinburgh and University College, Liverpool.

Part I., on Anthropology, contains descriptions and illustrations of tribes, their primitive beliefs and customs, and folk-lore. That on Zoology, also Part I., contains reports on mammals, heterocera, land planarians, diptera pupipara, batrachians and reptiles, tiger-beetles, and dragon-flies, etc., all by eminent naturalists. Probably these collections are the fullest and the best in *existence* in Europe, thanks to the support of those who contributed to defray the expenses of the expedition.

11. *Ledger and Sword; or, The Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies (1599-1874),* by BECKLES WILLSON. With frontispiece in photogravure by MAURICE GREIFFENHAGEN, and other illustrations. In two vols. One of the most interesting books of the present day. It is not a dry compendium of ancient letters and official documents, but a narrative of stirring adventures, from the smallest enterprise to the creation of a great Empire. When one looks at the frontis-

piece, containing the portraits of the Merchant Adventurers or Founders Hall (1599), he is amazed that such a beginning should have resulted in our day in the Indian Empire. But this result has been accomplished, not with ease, or without privations and trials of various sorts, and struggles with the Powers of Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland. The author has confined himself, as much as possible, to the history of the Company as such, and not with the history of persons. He has executed his task with extreme success. The reader will obtain a graphic sight of especially the earlier stages of the Company's progress, and the indomitable perseverance of English pluck and daring, not devoid of plunder and other proceedings, which would not be allowed in modern times. Good "Queen Bess" and her courtiers had a good deal to do with the genesis of the Company, all which is minutely narrated in these most attractive volumes.

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LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON, 1903.

12. *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, by R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A. The work before us is volume xiv. of Luzac's Oriental Text and Translation Series, and is the first volume of a work on Demonology as it existed in Ancient Babylonia. Its title in full is fitted to convey a good idea of the scope of the work: "The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia; being Babylonian and Assyrian Incantations against the Demons, Ghouls, Vampires, Hobgoblins, Ghosts, and kindred Evil Spirits which attack Mankind." The work consists of translations of such "incantations" from the original cuneiform texts, with transliterations of the said texts into English characters. What of the nature of statement and discussion the book contains regarding this curious subject is found within the first sixty pages or so; the remainder of the work (211 pages) is occupied with the texts. Of these, the transliterations occupy the one page, and the translations into English the opposite page. All through the volume there are important footnotes and references to authorities and sources of information. The gist and purport of the volume is interesting, as far as it goes, but it is far from exhaustive. We are, however, to have fuller treatment of the subject later on, and those who would attain to a more extensive acquaintance with it must await the publication of the remainder. The present volume deals with the subject of "Evil Spirits," and contains two plates—the one exhibiting four Babylonian demons, and the other a portion of the tablet supposed to contain a reference to the Garden of Eden. The work is well printed, and the production of it must have involved a great deal of labour as well to the printer as to the author.—B.

*Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol. IX.*

13. *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat, more especially of the Districts included in the Baroda State*, by JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., etc., late Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, and HENRY COUSENS, M.R.A.S., Superintendent Archæological Survey, Western India. (London: Bernard Quaritch; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.; Luzac and Co. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink

and Co. Bombay: Thacker and Co., Limited.) The present handsome volume is devoted to the descriptions of the antiquarian remains in Northern Gujarat, principally within the dominions of His Highness the Gaikwâd of Baroda. These remains were surveyed by Mr. Cousens in 1886-87, and 1889-90, when the magnificent drawings and photographs of the volume were prepared. The letterpress is equally excellent, containing descriptions and information derived from personal tours and other sources. The illustrations, beautifully executed, have been carefully laid down on the spot from accurate measurements, and represent the subjects architecturally and in a style that does supreme credit to Mr. Cousens and the members of his staff, trained and superintended by himself.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1903.

14. *Service and Sport on the Tropical Nile: Some Records of the Duties and Diversions of an Officer among Natives and Big Game during the Re-occupation of the Nilotic Province*, by CAPTAIN C. A. SYKES, R.H.A. With a map and illustrations from photographs and from drawings made by MAJOR E. A. P. HOBDAY, R.F.A. Apart from the magnificent work of Sir Harry Johnston on Uganda, Captain Sykes, by his minute and humorous descriptions and excellent illustrations, makes the people, scenes, and animals speak for themselves, specially to sportsmen. He modestly says he does not intend to describe "the splendid scenery, the mountains, the rivers, and the forest," but, happily, this interesting work is not devoid of such descriptions. He states that "since his sojourn the whole face of the land has changed. Doubtless, as far as civilization and the expansion of our Empire is concerned, for the better, but immeasurably at the expense of romance and adventure." This enhances the author's story. "Where," as he again says, "the steam-whistle has superseded the snort of the rhinoceros, the telegraph and red tape have found out the haunts of the elephant; where there were solitudes in Nature, one now hears the ceaseless hum of human beings. But the wilderness must ever give place to advancing civilization, and the wild beasts seek more and more sequestered spots." These are the arena of the adventurous sportsman, and give health, strength, and zest to such a sportsman as Captain Sykes.

There are many graphic descriptions of "men and monkeys" which we intended to have quoted, but our limited space forbids. The author concludes: "If a man will take the country as he finds it, not expecting too much and not complaining too much, the hardships soon fade from the recollection, and in after-years he looks upon many of the days spent in that far-off land as the happiest in his life." "These pleasures are cheap, too. His clothes cost him little; food is cheap; labour is not costly; rents, taxes, and bills are almost unknown." "I am glad I undertook the experience, and have only myself to blame that I did not get more enjoyment out of the country than I did." The reader will find, besides a most interesting story, a copious index and a good map.

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS, LIMITED; BROADWAY HOUSE, LUDGATE HILL, LONDON.

*The Semitic Series*, 1903.

15. *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*, by DUNCAN MACDONALD, M.A., B.D.; sometime Scholar and Fellow of the University of Glasgow, Professor of Semitic Languages in Hartford Theological Seminary. The author, in a short but excellent preface, sets forth the need of a text-book, such as he has produced, for students who wish to acquire a knowledge of the various phases of Islam in its constitutional development, its jurisprudence, and its theology. He states that "in English or German or French there is no book to which a teacher may send his pupils for brief guidance on the development of these institutions." The object of the book is, therefore, to fill up this gap. All the results of his investigations and researches are from Arabic sources; hence the work forms a correct and complete text-book. Besides discussing the various developments we have indicated, it contains very valuable appendices of illustrative documents in translation, a selected bibliography, most interesting and useful in itself, a chronological table, and a full and minute index. The learned Professor has admirably executed his important task, and the work will be of real value not only to the student of law, but to all those who desire to compare and contrast the three great religious systems of the East and West.

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ELLIOT STOCK; 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

16. *Hinduism and Christianity*, by T. E. SLATER. Second and revised edition. Mr. Slater is a missionary of the London Missionary Society, and resides in Madras. The full title of his book is worded thus, "The Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity; Certain Aspects of Hindu Thought from the Christian Standpoint," and there is an introduction by the late Dr. Barrows of Chicago. The work was first written in competition for a prize essay, but the offer came from Germany, the adjudicators were Germans to a man, and the prize was awarded to a competitor of their own race.

When the late Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, was invited by the organizers of the so-called "Parliament of Religions" at Chicago to depute some competent person as a representative of Christianity in that assembly, he replied that to do so would be to admit that Christianity was but one out of the many rival religions. This he could on no account do, seeing that Christianity did not stand before the world as a rival to compete with other religions for the patronage of mankind, but stood *alone*, apart from and above all, neither competing with them for human credence, nor entering into rivalry with any. Christianity threw down no *challenge* in the field. "It spoke with authority," tolerating no rival, but commanding every man's grateful acceptance. Such, in effect, was the Archbishop's response, and we know not that anyone occupying the Christian standpoint has ever yet called in question the wisdom, justice, and propriety of the reply of the English Primate.

To the Hindú, however, the reply leaves something to be desired, for, leaving out the question of rivalry, competition, or patronage, he takes up entirely different ground. He says in effect : I do not contend against the excellence of Christianity ; I merely maintain that the religion which I have inherited and the religion which *you* have inherited are alike the gifts of one and the same bountiful and gracious Being—who has, in fact, given to each and every race a religion suited to its own peculiar needs, and all in harmony with His own all-dominant will. Such is the attitude of the Hindú, and it is also, with the entire sanction of the Qur'án, the attitude of every Muḥammadan acquainted with the teaching of the Prophet. Now, experience has abundantly proved that the more accomplished the advocate of Christianity is, as well in respect of the religion he commends as in respect of the religion he disallows, the less efficient is he in bringing Hindús over to the side which he advocates. This is not to say that the more ignorant the Christian propagandist is, the more efficient is he in the object for which Christian missionaries are sustained. We do not suggest the preference for illiterate missionaries to Hindús or Muḥammadans ; the "cheap" article is always the most expensive in the long-run. But, be the explanation what it may, that such is the fact is simply notorious to all who are best acquainted with the history of the Christian propaganda among Hindús during the century since that propaganda began. Christianity, however, is not *now* on its trial. But as touching the question of the mode of advocacy, it has yet to be shown that the missionary who is most richly endowed with the Sanskrit and traditional learning of the Hindús has been the most successful in his work among them in turning them from their inherited sentiments to the adoption of the Christian faith. And the same remark applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the missionary who makes the highest attainments in the Arabic and Muḥammadan lore. Success in the work of "converting" Hindús and other Asiatic peoples has not by any means been signally awarded to the propagandist who happens to have been the most effective in dialectics. All experience, from the first till now, has gone to prove that the silencing of an opponent is not the same thing as convincing his intellect or creating or satisfying the hunger of the spiritual nature. It has not by any means resulted in his rejection of Hindúism and his adoption of Christianity. Up to the present point of time in the history of missions in India, the result arrived at is this : that there are many men of the more intelligent classes among Hindús who avow themselves silenced as to the superior excellence of the Christian religion, as a system that is more defensible in the sphere of dialectics than Hindúism, who yet fail to rank themselves on the Christian side. Be the reason what it may, they shrink from the open repudiation of the religion which their honoured forefathers inherited.

The work of Mr. Slater may with advantage be studied by persons of the missionary class, as also by all who would acquaint themselves with the nature of the task which the Christian Church has undertaken in India. The writer of the volume has, evidently, the gifts of a sound instructor and guide, and he has made his own the subject of which he treats. The work, now in its second edition, is already well known among those whom it

concerns. The proved unresponsiveness of intelligent Hindús to such arguments as Mr. Slater's shows that, in order to convert a soul to the faith of Christ, something *more* is needed besides the weight of facts and the force of reason.—B.

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THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING SOCIETY ; 3, LANGHAM PLACE, LONDON, W.,  
AND BENARES, INDIA, 1903.

17. *Did Jesus live 100 B.C.?* by G. R. S. MEAD, B.A., M.R.A.S. The question of the precise year and date of the nativity of our Saviour has often come up for inquiry, but the question discussed in the present work raises the subject in a more than usually important aspect. To use the wording which we find on the title-page, it is "an Inquiry into the Talmud-Jesus Stories, the Toldoth Jeschu, and some Curious Statements of Epiphanius ; being a Contribution to the Study of Christian Origins." As might have been anticipated from such a mode of stating the subject, the work is one of a very great amount of learned research. Authorities, ancient and modern, but principally theologians of Germany, are cited all through the work, the places being specified in the footnotes.

The question that comes up for discussion in this work is a large one, and in this volume of nearly 450 pages the author arrives at length at the conclusion that the problem with which he sets out has not yet been solved, and he awaits further light. The materials, however, for the further pursuit of the inquiry are all brought together in this volume, and the author is at very evident pains to hold the balance carefully as between the different authorities whom he quotes. He has read everything of any importance that has been published relating to the subject of which he treats. He is evidently a very widely-read man, and is possessed of much critical acumen, as also of all the best qualifications of historical inquiry and original research. The work will, we doubt not, be largely read by Christian theologians, who, taking them as a class, are not at all reluctant to inquire into the bases of belief.

The work begins with a good synopsis of the contents, but there is no index, an omission which in the case of a work containing so many names and so much of detail will be felt by readers to be a drawback to its usefulness.—B.

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T. FISHER UNWIN ; PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, 1903.

18. *The Advance of our West African Empire*, by C. BRAITHWAITE WALLIS, F.G.S., F.R.G.S. ; Fellow of the Colonial Institute, etc. ; of the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) ; late Acting District Commissioner, Sierra Leone Protectorate. With illustrations and a map. This work is dedicated to Lord Wolseley. It contains very numerous illustrations, well executed, of tribes, rivers, chiefs, and other scenes, by the author, who is a soldier, a sportsman, and an intelligent traveller. His interesting narratives throw much light on the customs and character of the numerous tribes with whom we have to deal in this portion of Africa. The various details, well told, will be useful to those who desire to extend their commerce, to those who delight in sport, and above all to our soldiers, who

have, as it were, with much endurance, privations, pluck, and ready resources, to act as the pioneers of civilization. The chapter, in this respect, on "Health and Exercise" is specially valuable. The index is copious, and the appendices contain useful official documents bearing on our rule and administration. We regret our space does not admit of giving quotations on topics of great interest and importance to all who desire to extend trade and civilization, and to promote the welfare and happiness of the natives, who have been left so long in ignorance, savagery, slavery, and cruelty.

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#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Persian Problem: An Examination of the Rival Positions of Russia and Great Britain in Persia, with some Account of the Persian Gulf and the Bagdad Railway*, by H. J. WHIGHAM, with maps and illustrations (London: Isbister and Co., Ltd., Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, 1903). This very interesting book is a reprint of a series of letters written by the author, whilst travelling in Persia, to the *Morning Post*. He delineates the situation of affairs in Persia and the Gulf from a political and commercial point of view, and the policy which should be adopted by the British Government in order to retain our trade there. The remedy he proposes is in the improvement of communications, and the gradual extension of our influence over Southern Persia, which can only be done by constructing railways. Without these, he says, no great industrial venture and no efforts to exploit the mineral wealth of the country can possibly succeed.

*Who's Who*, and *Who's Who Year-Book*, for 1904 (A. and C. Black, Soho Square, London). The first of these handy and most useful works of reference does not, as formerly, contain the tables which hitherto formed the first part of the work. They form, with other information, the second book we have indicated. The first, therefore, is exclusively that of a biographical annual, which is increasing every year. It consists of about 1,700 pages of condensed but well-executed letterpress. The Year-Book, although now in a separate form, is an excellent complement of the other. The usefulness of these volumes cannot be overestimated.

*L' Islamismo and Letteratura Araba*, by DR. PROFESSOR ITALO PIZZI, of the University of Turin. These two manuals, printed in Italian, are intended to give the educated public the history of the Muhammadan religion and of Arab literature. The first treats of the life and character of the prophet, the institution of the Khalifate, and of Mussulman culture in all its various aspects. The second reviews the story of Arabic literature previous to the time of Muhammad down to the present day.

*Letteratura Assira*, by B. TELONI, and *L'Astronomia nell' Antico Testamento*, by GIOVANNI SCHIAPARELLI, are also full of information, and well worth the attention of scholars. All four manuals are published by Ulrico Hoepli, editore libraio della Real Casa, in Milan.

*The Ancient East* (David Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre, London, 1902-1903). The series before us contains: No I., *On the Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, by K. A. WIEDEMANN, PH.D., Professor of Egyptology in the University of Bonn; No. II., *The Tell el Amarna Period*, by CARL NIEBUHR; No. III.,

*The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*, by HEINRICH ZIMMERN, PH.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Leipzig; No. IV., *The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*, by ALFRED JEREMIAS, PH.D., Pastor of the Lutheran Church, author of *Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen Vom Leben nach dem Tode*, etc.; No. V., *Popular Literature in Ancient Egypt*, by A. WIEDEMANN, PH.D., Professor in the University of Bonn; No. VI., *The Hittites*, by DR. L. MESSERSCHMIDT, with nine illustrations. This is a short, popular, and scholarly contribution, and exceedingly well translated by Miss Jane Hutchison. The translation of the series are submitted for revision to the respective authors before they are published, so that perfect accuracy may be secured. All are well written and of much interest. Each number ranges from fifty to nearly seventy pages.

*The English Diary of an Indian Student, 1861-1862: Being the Scribbling Journal of the late Rakhal Das Haldar, of University Hall, London, and Member of the Executive Branch of the Provincial Service, Bengal.* With an introduction by HARINATH DE, M.A., of the Indian Educational Service, sometime Senior Classical Scholar, Christ's College, Cambridge, and State Scholar of the Government of India (The Asutosh Library, Dacca, 1903). A very interesting biography of an interesting Indian student, who visited England forty years ago, and a diary of his kind reception, from time to time, by eminent men of the day. The diary revives old memories, and will be perused with pleasure and interest. His son, who has published and edited the Diary, is a deputy-magistrate, Dacca. There is also an excellent portrait and a selection from the author's Bengali verses.

*Climate: A Quarterly Journal of Health and Travel*, edited by CHARLES P. HADFORD, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, London, E., and 133, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.). This useful and important publication proposes to still further consider the more general aspects of tropical hygiene. The recent discoveries as to tropical diseases are so important that everyone interested in the development of the tropics and the progress of the Empire ought to consult this useful publication.

*The Board of Trade Journal*, with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*, edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade, vol. xliii., Nos. 355-367, 1903. These admirably compiled numbers give much information on the openings of British trade in Europe, in India, the Colonies, China, and other countries. The official copies are published weekly at a nominal price—one penny.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *Archæology*: Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the year ending June 30, 1903 (Government of Bombay General Department);—*Report on Archæological Work in Burma* for the year 1902-1903 (Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1903);—*Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Panjab Circle*, for the year ending March 31, 1903 (Lahore: Caxton Printing Works, September 28, 1903); *Report of the Eighteenth Indian National Congress*,



held at Ahmedabad on December 23, 24, and 26, 1902 (Bombay: Printed at the "Commercial" Press, 1903);—*Report on the Trade and General Conditions of the British Central Africa Protectorate*, for the year 1902-1903, by Major F. B. Pearce, Acting Commissioner (London: Harrison and Sons, St. Martin's Lane; Eyre and Spottiswoode, etc.);—*Till Frågan om Polyteismens Uppkomst Akademisk Afhandling*, af Torgny Karl Segerstedt (Stockholm: Ivar Haeggströms Boktryckeri, A.B., 1903);—*Ueber die Sumerischen Lehnwörter im Assyrischen*: Akademische Abhandlung zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät in Uppsala vorgelegt und am, 2 Mai, 1903, um 10 uhr vormittags im Horsaal, No. IV.; Öffentlich zu verteidigen von Pontus Leander, Lic. Phil. (Uppsala, 1903: Akademische Buchdruckerei, Edv. Berling);—*The Need of a Rational and Humane Science*, a lecture delivered before the Humanitarian League, by Edward Carpenter (Humanitarian League, 53, Chancery Lane, London);—George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain*, October, November, December;—*The Sunday Strand*, October, November, December;—*The Strand Magazine*, October, November, December;—*The Wide World Magazine*, October, November, December;—*The Century Book of Gardening*, parts 13-18;—*The Vegetarian Cookery Book*;—*Tit-Bits Christmas Song-Book*;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press; London: Luzac and Co.);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Imperial Institute Journal* (London: Waterlow and Sons);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de Politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19).

We regret that want of space obliges us to hold over the notice of the following works: *China Past and Present*, by Edward Harper Parker,

Professor of Chinese at the Owens College, Manchester; formerly H.B.M. Consul at Kiungchow, etc. (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1903); and, by the same publishers, *Life and Sport in China*, by Oliver G. Ready, B.A.;—*Li Hung-Chang: His Life and Times*, by Mrs. Archibald Little, author of "Intimate China," "The Land of the Blue Gown," etc., with several portraits and a map (Cassell and Co., Ltd., London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne, 1903);—*In the Uttermost East, being an Account of Investigations among the Natives and Russian Convicts of the Island of Sakhalin, with Notes of Travel in Korea, Siberia, and Manchuria*, by Charles H. Hawes, with illustrations and maps (London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 45, Albemarle Street, W., 1903);—*Sixteen Years in Siberia: some Experiences of a Russian Revolutionist*, by Leo Deutsch, translated by Helen Chisholm, with illustrations (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1903);—*In Russian Turkestan: a Garden of Asia and its People*, by Annette M. B. Meakin, author of "A Ribbon of Iron," etc., with sixteen full-page illustrations (London: George Allen, 156, Charing Cross Road, 1903);—*Progress of the British Empire in the Century*, by J. Stanley Little, author of "My Royal Father," etc.; and *The Progress of Australasia in the Nineteenth Century*, by T. A. Coghlan, Honorary Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, Statistician of New South Wales, and T. T. Ewing, member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, with which are incorporated, by permission of the Government of New South Wales and the other principal Colonies, certain statistics and other matter prepared for the official publications; both of the "Nineteenth Century Series" (The Linscott Publishing Company, Toronto and Philadelphia; W. and R. Chambers, Ltd., London and Edinburgh, 1903);—*A Search for the Masked Tawareks*, by W. J. Harding King, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., with forty-one illustrations and a map (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1903);—*Anglo-Muhammadan Law: A Digest preceded by a Historical and Descriptive Introduction of the Special Rules now applicable to Muhammadans as such by the Civil Courts of British India, with full References to Modern and Ancient Authorities*, by Sir Roland Knyvet Wilson, Bart., M.A., LL.M., Barrister-at-Law, late reader in Indian law to the University of Cambridge, author of "An Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Muhammadan Law," etc., 2nd edition, revised and much enlarged (London: W. Thacker and Co., 2, Creed Lane, E.C.: Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1903);—*The History of Philosophy in Islam*, by Dr. T. J. De Boer, University of Groningen, translated (with the sanction of the author) by Edward R. Jones, B.D.; Luzac's Oriental Religious Series (London: Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, 1903);—*The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, by the Right Hon. Professor Max Müller, K.M., late Foreign Member of the French Institute; new edition (Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, New York, and Bombay, 1903);—*The Peril of the Sword (concerning Havelock's Relief of Lucknow, etc.)*, by Colonel A. F. P. Harcourt, author of "Jenetha's Venture," etc., dedicated, by permission, to F.-M. Earl Roberts, K.G., V.C., Commander-in-Chief (London: Skeffington and Son, 34, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C., 1903);—*The Autobiography of Lieut.-General Sir Harry Smith, Baronet, of*

*Altwal on the Sutlej*, G.C.B., edited, with the addition of some supplementary chapters, by G. C. Moore Smith, M.A., with portraits and illustrations (London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1903) ;—*The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, by Stanley A. Cook, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, etc. (London : Adam and Charles Black, 1903) ;—*Impressions of Indian Travel*, by Oscar Browning (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster Row, 1903) ;—*Le Messianisme dans l'Heterodoxie Musulmane*, by E. Blochet (Paris : Librairie Orientale et Americaine, J. Maisonneuve, editeur, 6, Rue de Mezières, and 26, Rue Madame, 1903) ;—*Stars of the Desert*, by Laurence Hope, author of "The Garden of Kama" (London : William Heinemann ; New York : John Lane, 1903) ;—*Idylls of Ancient Ind : Sakuntala*, by R. Vasudeva Row, B.A. (Madras : G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, 1903) ; also by same publisher, *Agricultural and Industrial Problems in India*, by Alfred Chatterton, Professor of Engineering on Special Duty, Madras ;—*L'Inde*, by Pierre Loti, de l'Académie Française (Paris : Calmann-Levy, editeurs, 3, Rue Auber) ;—*Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, by H. L. Duff, of the British Central Africa Administration, with illustrations and map (London : George Bell and Sons, 1903).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—His Excellency the Viceroy, on his autumn tour, visited Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Bahawalpur, and Sind, and proceeded to Karachi, whence he started on a trip to the Persian Gulf. Leaving Karachi on November 16, on board the Royal Indian Marine ship *Hardinge*, and accompanied by the East Indian Squadron, composed of the *Argonaut*, *Hyacinth*, *Fox*, and *Pomone*, he arrived at Mascat on the morning of November 18. The Sultan visited His Excellency on board, and the visit was returned in the afternoon. His Highness was invested with the insignia of Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Indian Empire. Sir Arthur Hardinge, the British Minister at Teheran, here joined His Excellency. Bandar Abbas was next visited, and a darbar held of pirate coast chiefs at Sharja. Calling at Bassidore, he proceeded to Bandar Lingah, where the Governors of the Gulf ports were entertained at dinner. At Bahrein, on November 26, the Sheikh Isa bin Ali paid a visit to His Excellency. Koweyt was reached on the 28th. Sheikh Mubarek paid an official visit on board the *Hardinge*; afterwards Lord Curzon drove through the town to the Sheikh's house, where the Sheikh's six sons were introduced. On December 1 the Viceroy arrived at Bandar Bushire, where extensive preparations for his reception had been made by the British residents and the local authorities, but an unfortunate hitch in the arrangements ordered by the Persian Government prevented Lord Curzon from landing. His Excellency instead received on board a large deputation of British subjects and others, who presented an address of welcome, to which a suitable reply was given. On the return journey His Excellency held a darbar at Pasni, on the Makran coast, for the chiefs and notables of Southern Baluchistan. The results of the tour have been most satisfactory. The Viceroy has reaffirmed with great authority the Government's intention not to surrender the advantage gained by British and Indian sacrifices in the past, but to uphold her interests and authority. The naval display has also produced a good effect all along the shores of the Gulf. The Viceroy reached Karachi on December 7 after an absence of three weeks.

Mr. Gabriel Stokes, C.S.I., has been appointed a member of the Council of the Governor of Madras in the place of Sir Henry Martin Winterbotham, K.C.S.I., retired.

The Diwan Bahadur R. V. Srinavasa Iyer has been appointed an additional member of the Madras Legislative Council in place of the Hon. Diwan Bahadur S. Srinivese Raghavah Iyengar, C.I.E., resigned.

The annexation of the Berars was effected without bloodshed on October 1 last, when the Hon. the Chief Commissioner, accompanied by a brilliant staff, made his official entry into his new territory. He visited Amraoti, Chikaldu, and other stations.

Serious floods of the Pālār River occurred in November last, due to

a breached bank. Half the town of Vamzanibadi, in the Salem district, was ruined, and about 200 lives lost.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—Lord Kitchener returned to Simla from his long tour on October 21, having inspected the important passes, positions, and garrisons in Chitral and Gilgit. He has lately, unfortunately, met with an accident. His horse, whilst passing through a tunnel near Simla, shied and crushed his Lordship's leg, breaking the bones above the ankle. He is now progressing favourably.

The Maimanah Faqir has returned again to Tirah from Khost, and has commenced to preach among the *Sunnis* of Maidān and Bāgh, in the hope of getting them to rise against the *Shiahs*.

The Tibet-Sikkim Mission under Colonel Younghusband having been waiting since July last, at Khamba Jong, the arrival of Tibetan and Chinese officials, without any result, the Government have decided to send an expedition into Tibet, and to occupy the Chumbi Valley, running between Sikkim and Bhutan, and to advance to Gyangtse, about 150 miles from Lhasa. At this point Colonel Younghusband will endeavour to reopen negotiations with the Tibetans, strong representations having been made as to the non-observance of the existing treaties between Tibet and India of 1890 and 1893. The expedition will be under the command of Colonel Macdonald, R.E., and composed of mounted infantry, two guns, two native pioneer regiments, and a battalion of Gurkhas, in all about 2,000 men.

The militia system on the North-West Frontier has worked so well that it is now intended to increase the Wana corps so as to allow the withdrawal of the troops from that district. The Mahsud Waziris and their neighbours continue to behave in an exemplary manner.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES—MAISUR.—The Representative Assembly was formally opened by the Maharaja on October 5 ; the British Resident and the Diwan were present. After a short speech by His Highness, the Diwan Sir Krishnamurti, addressed the assembly and gave an account of the Maharaja's first year of administration. The total revenue amounted to 207, and the expenditure to 201 lacs.

His Highness the Maharaja of Cutch, G.C.I.E., who is much interested in light railways, has begun to construct a line from Tunā Bandar to Anjār, a distance of twelve miles, and intends to continue it to Bhūj, thirty miles from Anjār.

The Thakore Sahib of GONDAL has directed that no one in Dhorāji (Kāthiāwār) should slaughter cows, oxen, or calves, either for purposes of food or any account whatever, under pain of imprisonment for six months, or a fine to the extent of 200 rupees, or both. This prohibition deprives the Muhammadan population, which preponderates, of their chief articles of food. Memorials and petitions for redress have been sent to the Viceroy from all parts of India, and the *Anjumans* of Islam have taken up the matter.

Her Highness the Begum of BHOPAL, accompanied by her two sons, Nawāb Obeidullah Khān Bahādur and Nawāb Hamidullah Khān Bahādur, and several officers of State, has gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

A magnificent camp, which had just been completed at Patiala by His Highness the Kour Sahib, and intended for the reception of His Excellency

the Viceroy, has been totally destroyed by fire. The loss is estimated at 20 lacs. A new camp was begun directly afterwards.

BURMA.—The Burma Association has recently been formed in Rangoon, and a strong and representative Council has been appointed. Its aim is mainly to make the views of the public it represents known in high places.

On November 13, in the presence of the principal civil and military officials and large numbers of representative monks, Sir Hugh Barnes, the Lieutenant-Governor, presented the *sanad* recognising for administrative purposes the Buddhist Archbishop of Upper Burma.

CEYLON.—His Excellency Sir J. West Ridgeway opened the session of the Legislative Council on October 26. In his speech he commented on the unprecedented prosperity of the colony. The revenue was Rs. 29,000,000, giving a surplus of about Rs. 2,500,000. His Excellency expressed to the members his regret at leaving them after a sojourn of nearly eight years in the island. The revenue for 1904 is expected to yield Rs. 28,651,370, and the estimated expenditure Rs. 28,652,830.

Sir Henry Arthur Blake, G.C.M.G. (Governor of Hong Kong), has been appointed to succeed Sir J. West Ridgeway as Governor of the colony and its dependencies.

BALUCHISTAN.—On October 3 a *darbar* was held at Quetta, which was attended by the leading Brahui and Baluchi chiefs. The Hon. Colonel C. E. Yate congratulated the Shāhi *Jirga* (Qāzi Muzaffar Khān) on the satisfactory settlement of several complicated cases, such as the Mengal and Jhalawan. Medals of the King-Emperor were distributed to the chiefs in commemoration of the Delhi Coronation *Darbar*.

AFGHANISTAN.—Lieutenant-Colonel Hāfiz Muhammad Nawāz Khān, who has been the British Agent at Kābul for the past three years, has returned to India. He has been succeeded by Malik Khudā Bakhsh Khān, Tiwana of Shāhpur, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

Among the victims of cholera, which raged in Kābul during the autumn, were Muhammad Qāsim, the Amir's Secretary of State for Indian Affairs, and the Inspector of Sanitation.

The Amir has ordered the construction of a chain of fortified caravan-serais along the road from Dakka to Kābul, from Kābul to Kotal Manjān in Badakhshān, from Kābul to the Oxus, and from Balkh to Bālā Murghāb on the Russian frontier.

The appointment of Sirdar Nasrullah Khān as Commander-in-Chief has given satisfaction to officers and soldiers.

His Highness the Amir held a splendid *darbar* on Friday, October 16 last, which was largely attended by military and civil officials.

PERSIA.—The Shah has appointed a cousin, the Ain-ed-dowlah, formerly Governor of Māzanderān, to take the place of the Amin-es-Saltanah, the Atābeg-i-'Azam, who has resigned and gone on a pilgrimage to Kerbelā and Mecca.

The Central Persian telegraph line from Kāshān to the Baluchistan frontier was completed as far as Kermān on October 19. When completed its length will be 900 miles; 430 miles still remain to be erected.

A deputation of students from the Aligarh College has recently paid a

visit to Persia. At Shiraz, where it was cordially received, sons of six of the principal men of that town returned with the party to complete their studies in India.

The Russian Bank of Teheran has opened a branch office in Sistān for the purpose of advancing Russian trade there.

Captain Winter, Second Assistant to the Agent of the Governor-General in Baluchistan, has been appointed to the newly-constituted consulship of Turbat-i-Haidari.

ADEN, HINTERLAND.—The Aden Boundary Commission, which has been stopping for two years at Dthalla in the *Hinterland*, and prevented, by the hostility of the Arabs, from surveying the country, have nearly completed their object. Several engagements have been fought, and losses sustained on both sides. Lately several outrages have been committed on the line of communications by the inhabitants of the village of Nakhlin, situated fifteen miles south-east of Jamil. The village has been destroyed by a small column under Lieutenant-Colonel English; a few of the 2nd Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers were wounded during the operations.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—Reports from Manchuria show no movements by the Russians towards the evacuation of that province.

The Siberian route (Moscow to Dalny) is now available for the transmission of letters and postcards to and from the Far East.

The Government has closed all the minor ferries on the Oxus for the passage of travellers, only at Charjui and Kherki is traffic permitted.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—Two Arab tribes having revolted in the *Sanjak* of Assyr in consequence of the imposition of a new tax on cattle, the Military Commandant, Ahmad Pasha and the Mutesarif of Assyr were killed, and about 1,000 troops killed or wounded. General Hādi Pasha has been appointed Commander-in-Chief and Governor of the *Sanjak*, and Yāver Pasha has succeeded the late Ahmad Pasha.

CHINA.—A new Board of Commerce, which is entrusted with the control of railways, mines, manufactures, and commerce, has been inaugurated in Peking by a reception, at which Prince Tai-chen, Wu Ting-fang, and Chen-pi, entertained representatives of the foreign Legations.

The Russians having occupied Mukden on October 28, the Japanese Government notified the Chinese Government that she will never consent to any compromise with Russia impairing Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria unless China herself agrees to the Russian demands.

JAPAN.—The vacancies in the Cabinet have been filled as follows: M. Hakano, Justice; Baron Kioura, Agriculture and Commerce; M. Kubota, Education; and M. Oura, Communications.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.—The census of these islands shows a total population of 6,976,574, being considerably short of the estimates hitherto made, these varying from 8,000,000 to 10,000,000. The wild tribes number about 650,000.

SIAM.—The services of Mr. Ambrose, the British adviser to the Customs Department, have been retained for another five years.

SEYCHELLES.—The King has approved the issue of letters patent

creating these islands, hitherto a dependency of Mauritius, a separate colony. The ceremony of publication took place on November 7, presided over by Sir C. Bruce, Governor of Mauritius. Mr. E. B. Sweet-Escott, the late Administrator, has been appointed the first Governor of the new colony.

**MAURITIUS.**—The Governor, Sir Charles Bruce, has returned to England, his time of service having just expired. Sir Graham Bower, the Colonial Secretary, acts until the appointment of a new Governor.

**EGYPT.**—The Budget for 1904 shows an estimated surplus of £E500,000 over the previous year. The receipts are estimated at £E11,500,000, and the expenditure, including the amount assigned to the general reserve fund, at £E11,410,000, thus leaving a final surplus of £E90,000. The debt conversion economies, which at the end of 1903 amounted to £E5,507,000, will be increased by the end of 1904 by £E533,000, making a total of £E6,040,000.

**SUDAN.**—A certain Muhammad El Amin proclaimed himself Mahdi in the Tagalla Mountains in Southern Kordofan. Colonel Mahon organized an expedition, which, after proceeding up the Nile from Khartum, made a long forced march and surrounded the village, whereupon the Mahdi came out and surrendered. He was taken prisoner to El Obeid, and, after trial, hanged. It appears that he had been very energetic in his propaganda, and in a month's time would have had all the people of the above district with him and taken up a strong position.

**SOMALILAND.**—Delay in the advance against the Mulla has been caused by a deficiency of camels. A special feature of the reorganized transport is the fifty mule-waggons which have been brought from Natal.

The Warsangeli tribe on the north coast and the Mijertains on the east coast have combined against the Mulla.

General Manning has occupied Galadi after a forced march across the desert from Bohotlé. He has returned after leaving a garrison there under Colonel Cobbe.

**ABYSSINIA.**—The Negus Menelik has ordered to be promulgated in all the provinces of the kingdom a decree prohibiting the slave trade.

Abyssinian troops will co-operate with General Egerton's force in the forthcoming operations against the Mulla.

**TRANSSVAAL.**—The ordinary revenue for the year ending June 30 last was £4,683,205. Among other receipts was that of £744,303 under the head of repayment of advances made by the late Government to Boer farmers, in addition to contributions of the Imperial and Orange River Colony Governments in respect of constabulary, etc., amounting to £1,251,947. The total expenditure during the same period amounted to £6,679,456, less £686,956 chargeable to the grant-in-aid, and the Transvaal loan. There is a final revenue balance of £816,394.

The Customs receipts for the first eight months of last year amounted to £1,481,322, as compared with £803,839 for the corresponding period of 1902. The imports amounted to the value of £14,280,908, as compared with £6,387,046.

General Delarey sailed for India at the end of October with the object



of inducing the irreconcilable Boer prisoners, who refuse to take the oath of allegiance, to return to South Africa.

The Government has decided that at present the construction of new railways is inopportune owing to the scarcity of labour.

Lord Harris, presiding at a meeting of the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa (Ltd.), expressed the opinion that the importation of Asiatic labour to the Rand was inevitable. The report of the majority of the Transvaal Commission also states that there is no adequate supply of native labour in Central or Southern Africa, and that white labour cannot successfully compete with black in the lower fields of manual industry.

The revenue of the ORANGE RIVER COLONY for the past financial year amounted to £1,770,000, and the expenditure to £1,524,000. There is now a balance in hand of £228,000.

NATAL AND ZULULAND.—The Zululand Railway extension was opened on September 17 by Sir Henry McCallum, the Governor, at Hlabisa, 167 miles north of Durban.

WEST AFRICA: GOLD COAST COLONY.—The first train from Sekondi (on the coast) arrived at Kumassi on October 2 with twenty-seven Europeans, and the Kings and Chiefs of Bekwai, Kokofu, Adansi, and Abodom. The distance between the two places is 180 miles, and there are sixteen intermediate stations. The cost of the line has been about £1,600,000.

Major Sir Matthew Nathan, R.E., K.C.M.G., has been succeeded in the governorship by Mr. John Pickersgill Rodger, C.M.G., late British Resident in Perak.

MOROCCO.—The Sultan has ordered all his European employes to leave Fez.

The Government forces have been defeated by the rebels, who practically hold nearly all the country. The Sultan has disbanded the greater part of his army, thus reducing expenditure. No further fighting is expected before the spring.

AUSTRALASIA: COMMONWEALTH.—Sir Edmund Barton, having been appointed one of the Judges of the Federal High Court, resigned the Premiership. The new Ministry is now composed as under: Mr. Deakin, Premier and Minister of the Exterior; Sir W. J. Lyne, Trade and Customs; Sir George Turner, Treasurer; Sir John Forrest, Home Affairs; Mr. Drake, Attorney-General; Sir Philip Fysh, Postmaster-General; Mr. Chapman, Defence; Mr. Playford, Vice-President of the Council. This Ministry will continue Sir E. Barton's policy, including his method of dealing with preferential trade. Sir S. Griffith has accepted the post of Federal Chief Justice. Mr. R. E. O'Connor with Sir E. Barton are the other Judges of the High Court.

The Federal Customs and Excise revenue for the quarter ending September 30 last amounted to £2,530,871, a decrease of £55,983.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The estimated revenue for the current year is £11,507,000, and the expenditure £11,474,000.

VICTORIA.—The revenue for the past year, 1902-03, amounted to £6,968,000, the expenditure £6,774,000, leaving a surplus of £194,000.

The estimated revenue for the current year, including the above surplus, is £7,232,000, and expenditure £7,002,000.

QUEENSLAND.—The new Cabinet has been formed as follows: Mr. Morgan, Premier, Chief Secretary, and Secretary for Railways; Mr. Barlow, Secretary for Public Instruction; Mr. Browne, Secretary for Mines and Public Works; Mr. Kidston, Treasurer; Mr. Bell, Secretary for Public Lands; Mr. Blair, Attorney-General; Mr. Denham, Home Secretary and Agriculture.

The Treasury returns show a revenue for the first three months of the current year of £760,000, and expenditure £534,500. The excess of revenue over expenditure is £225,000.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The surplus for the past year was £231,659. The indebtedness of the State is £15,105,784. Of this sum, £8,607,368 was spent on railways, £1,973,633 on harbour improvements, and £2,742,798 on water-supply. The estimated revenue for the current year is £3,630,200, and expenditure £3,843,347.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Mr. Louis von Doussa has been appointed Attorney-General in place of Mr. J. H. Gordon, who resigned, and has succeeded Mr. Bunday as Judge of the Supreme Court.

NEW ZEALAND.—The financial report for the year ended March 31 last shows that the total receipts for the year from all sources amounted to £6,447,435, and the expenditure £6,214,019. Adding the balance of £70,489 from the preceding year made the credit balance £303,905. The current year's receipts are estimated at £6,528,600, and the expenditure £6,255,857. The railways pay £3 6s. 1d. per cent. on the capital cost of £19,081,735. Last year £209,156 was paid in old-age pensions; this year £215,000 will be asked for.

The Government has introduced a Public Works Bill in Parliament, providing for a loan of £1,000,000, three-fifths to be devoted to railways, and the remainder to land settlement and gold-mines.

A Bill granting £40,000 a year towards the cost of the Australasian squadron passed the House of Representatives.

CANADA.—For the year ended June 30, 1903, the export of merchandise amounted to \$214,401,674, against \$105,488,793 during 1893, an increase of 103½ per cent.

The Dominion House of Commons has passed the Transcontinental Railway Bill.

Mr. Sefton, the Minister of the Interior, in an address delivered last month at Ottawa, said that he justified the action of the Canadian Commissioners in refusing to sign the Alaska boundary award. It would remove all grounds of complaint against Great Britain, would give Canada a sobering sense of responsibility, and would tend to make the negotiations smoother and more free from friction. As regards the fiscal question, the Minister declared himself a warm supporter of preferential trade.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the quarter ended September 30 amounted to \$545,000, the largest recorded, exceeding the corresponding quarter of 1902 by \$80,000.

British imports have declined 10 per cent., while American imports have increased 50 per cent., in the last two years.

The trade of the colony last autumn exceeded anything in its previous history. The sales of codfish alone have produced \$1,000,000 above those of last year.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following :—Captain Charles John Clark (Mutiny) ;—Hakim-ul-Mulk, formerly physician to the present Shah ;—Hon. John Lagdon Parsons, a leading public man of South Australia ;—Lieutenant Sydney Knox Hamilton Little, Indian Army, and formerly of the Hon. Artillery Company (South African war) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel C. P. Theobald, late of the Royal (Bombay) Artillery ;—Lieutenant-Colonel R. G. Mathew, I.M.S. (retired) ;—Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel R. V. Ash, Army Medical Staff (South African war 1878-79, Egypt 1882, Burma 1886-87) ;—Rear-Admiral Wollaston Comyns Karslake (China 1858, New Zealand 1860, Japan 1863, Congo pirates 1875) ;—Captain Robert Erskine Anderson, late of the Royal Artillery (Panjab 1848, and Mutiny) ;—Captain P. A. Browne, Indian Medical Service :—Rev. Father Wehinger, K.I.H., founder and head of St. John's Leper Asylum, Mandalay ;—Colonel William Briggs Allin, R.A.M.C., principal medical officer of the Bombay and Nagpur districts (Afghan war 1878-80, Nile expedition 1884-85, Isazai expedition 1892, South African war) ;—Mr. Jamietram N. Haridas, a lawyer of Bombay and Sanskrit scholar ;—Major-General Lewis Percival, late of the Rifle Brigade (Mutiny campaign, Fenian insurrection, Canada) ;—General William Craig Emilius Napier (Natal 1842, Panjab 1845, Crimea) ;—Admiral Sir Alexander Buller (Black Sea 1855, Malacca 1875-76) ;—Mr. David Fremantle Carmichael, formerly of the Hon. East India Company's service (Madras), and afterwards Chief Secretary to the Madras Government and Member of Council ;—Colonel J. W. Fleming Sandwith, formerly of the Hon. East India Company's service (Mutiny) ;—General Sir John Doran, late I.S.C. (Afghanistan 1878-80) ;—Lieutenant-General Henry James Buchanan, C.B., Colonel of the Norfolk Regiment (Eastern campaign 1854-55, Afridi expedition 1877-78) ;—Lady Macpherson, widow of Major-General Sir James Duncan Macpherson, Military Secretary to Lord Lawrence during the Mutiny campaign ;—Monsieur O'Hea, the oldest Roman Catholic ecclesiastic in Australia ;—Major-General Robert Unwin, late of the Bengal Staff Corps (Candahar and Kabul 1842, Gwalior campaign 1843, Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Panjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny) ;—Captain Harry Clifford Franks, Adjutant 5th Battalion Royal Garrison Regiment (West Coast Africa 1887-88, late Boer war) ;—Mr. Basil Murray Smith, of the Egyptian Ministry of Justice ;—Major-General William Howell Beynon, late of the Bombay Staff Corps (Mutiny), and afterwards Resident at Jaipur ;—Lieutenant Allan James Reginald Mackenzie, Royal Horse Guards, in Nigeria (South African war) ;—Major George Jerry Arthur Tuke, Royal Army Medical Corps (South African war 1899-1901) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Smith Lemarchand, entered the Hon. East India Company's service in 1845

(Mutiny 1857-59);—Captain Andrew William Miller, R.N. (Black Sea 1856, China 1857-58, Gulf of Mexico 1862);—Second-Lieutenant C. A. Holford 4th Dragoon Guards (South African war);—Rev. C. R. Longfield, M.A., chaplain of Sabathu;—Lieutenant F. P. Vieyra, Indian Medical Service;—Lieutenant G. F. Humphreys, Indian Medical Service;—Dr. James Robert Wallace, a prominent Eurasian, and President of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association;—Major-General James Snow Davies, late Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny);—Major-General Robert Henry Cunliffe, late Madras Staff Corps;—Rev. James William Adams, v.c., formerly of the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment (with Lord Roberts, Kabul to Candahar);—Captain Bertram Hammersley Rooke, R.E. (North-West frontier 1897-98);—Lady Jalāl Shah, daughter-in-law of the first Āghā Khan;—General Reginald Quinton Mainwaring, formerly of the Madras Service Corps;—Major-General Robert Cotton Money, late Bengal Staff Corps, and Manager of the Darbhanga Rāj Estate;—Commander George Murray Kendall Fair, of the Naval Intelligence Department (China 1900); Lord W. A. Cavendish Bentinck, 10th Hussars (late Boer war);—Rev. Herbert Civil Hodges, chaplain at Shanghai;—Mr. Dacres Hope Wise, Commissioner of Lands, Federated Malay States;—Mr. Francis Bradley Dickenson, Conservator of Forests in Naini Tal;—Sir Charles Nicholson, of Sydney, the first Australian Baronet and oldest statesman;—Surgeon-Major-General James Davis, Army Medical Staff, retired (New Zealand war 1861);—Sir John Robinson, first Premier of Natal;—Staff-Commander J. Grimsdale Anderson, R.N. (Africa 1839);—Commander C. Alder, R.N. (Crimea and China 1858);—Sir John Lackey, President New South Wales Legislative Council;—Colonel R. Thirkhill Maillard, late of the 16th Lancers (Boer war 1881);—Hon. Mr. David Thomas Roberts, c.s.i., senior member of the Board of Revenue of the United Provinces of Agra and Oude;—Mr. George Henry Stuart, Director of Public Instruction, and member of the Madras Legislative Council;—Sir Amaravati Seshiah Sastri, k.c.s.i., a well-known South Indian statesman and administrator, and sometime Diwan of Travancore;—Colonel William Young, late of the 49th and 14th Regiments (Crimea, Afghan war 1880);—Mr. John Raynor Arthur, entered the Hon. East India Company's service 1851, retired 1877;—Dr. L'Estrange, Indian Medical Service, Assistant Port Health Officer at Rangoon;—Rao Bahadur A. Sabapathy, Mudaliyar of Bellary, sometime member of the Madras Legislative Council and chairman of the Bellary Municipality;—Major-General Charles Vyvyan Cox, c.b., late Royal (Bengal) Horse Artillery (Gwalior campaign 1843-44, Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Panjab campaign 1848-49, and Mutiny);—Surgeon-General Alfred James Dale, late Indian Medical Service, Bengal (Afghan war 1879);—Captain Francis Edward Harward, R.E. (South Africa 1901);—Lieutenant E. D. Luard, Royal West Kent Regiment (South Africa 1900);—Lieutenant-General John Le Mesurier, R.E., retired (Persian Expeditionary Service 1856-57);—Major-General G. H. More-Molyneux, c.b., d.s.o., Indian Army, commanding Rohilkund district (Afghan war 1878-80, Sudan expedition 1885, Burmese expedition 1885-89, Tirah expedition 1897-98);—Sir Charles Bradley Pritchard, a former member of the Viceroy's Council;—Mrs. Cronje, wife

of the Boer General ;—Lieutenant-General Sir John Spurgin, K.C.B., C.S.I., the late Hon. East India Company's Service (Burmese war 1852-53 and Mutiny) ; Captain W. W. Hewett, R.N. (Zulu war 1879) ;—Hon. Louis François Rodrigue Masson, a Canadian statesman ;—Captain James Rennie, C.B., for twenty-nine years in the Indian Marine (China 1841-42, Burma 1852-53, Persian Gulf 1857, Mutiny 1857-58) ;—Sir James Lee Steere, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Western Australia ;—Lieutenant-General James May, C.B., late of the Bengal Army (Mutiny, Bhutan expedition 1864-65) ;—Deputy-Surgeon-General J. H. Sylvester (Persia 1857, Mutiny) ;—Major-General C. J. Hughes, late 81st and 51st Regiments and Bengal Staff Corps (Jowaki Afridi expedition 1877, Afghan War 1878-80) ;—Mr. James F. Snaith, a retired Indian Judge ;—Rev. J. Ireland Jones, the oldest Ceylon Church missionary ;—the Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley.

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THE MYSORE STATE:  
AN OBJECT-LESSON IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

IN more than one branch of Imperial policy, events have justified the far-seeing sagacity of Lord Lytton—a sagacity that was never duly appreciated during his life-time. Of course he was not infallible. Like all rulers with strong powers of initiative, he sometimes started off on a wrong tack. Also he had his foibles; and as party-spirit at that time had unhappily intruded itself, quite unnecessarily, into the region of Indian politics, his rare mistakes and his occasional eccentricities were exaggerated by partisan rancour to such an extent as largely to obscure the remarkable wisdom and prescience of nearly the whole of his Indian policy. He organized on reasonable lines our benevolent famine policy. He laid the foundations, deep and strong, of a frontier policy that has exorcised the spectre of Russian invasion by rendering it practically impossible. The Imperialism of modern India—against which even the most ill-conditioned Little Englander has now hardly a word to say—was the construction of his fertile brain and of those who aided him.

These were some of his achievements. But there were no subjects nearer his heart than the increase of the dignity

of the rulers of Native States as Princes or Kings under the Empire, the regularizing of their status, and the organization of local self-government in the hands of loyal Indian-born statesmen and politicians. I believe it is not too much to say that it was Lord Lytton's visit to Southern India during the course of the famine of 1877-78 that paved the way for the "rendition" of Mysore in 1881, the re-establishment of the ancient ruling dynasty of that great kingdom after fifty years of direct British rule, together with the provision of a complete *imperium in imperio*, in the shape of an administration founded largely on British models in the hands of Indian-born statesmen.

I had the privilege on three occasions of visiting Mysore, and staying there for some time as the guest of the late illustrious Maharaja in the years 1887, 1892, and 1894; and again in 1897 I was there as the guest of the Resident at Bangalore, and of the late accomplished Dewan, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, at Mysore City. I have thus enjoyed considerable opportunities of personally examining the results of the rendition policy and of watching the progress of this most interesting State. And now I have just been reading, with the deepest interest and pleasure, the reports of the meeting of the Representative Assembly of Mysore, with the inaugural speech of His Highness the present Maharaja, and the address of the Dewan, Sir P. N. Krishna Murtti; and with these I have had the advantage of reading the admirable speech of His Highness the Maharaja in opening the Madras Industrial Arts Exhibition. The Dewan—probably one of the ablest and most loyal administrators in India—took occasion, in his address to the Representative Assembly, to review the progress of the State from 1881 to the present time; and truly the record is a marvellous one, in which both the Maharaja and his enlightened Prime Minister may well take a warm patriotic pride, and they deserve the heartiest congratulations of every patriotic politician in the British Empire, whether English or Indian-born. If ever a policy has

been amply justified by the event, Lord Lytton's rendition policy is here justified to the very utmost.

When full personal powers, high dignity, and practically unbounded authority—subject only to an undefined general responsibility to the Paramount Power—are centred in one personage, so much depends on his individual character and abilities, that critics of Lord Lytton's policy have often been disposed to condemn it on this ground. But high responsibilities commonly stimulate corresponding powers and a corresponding sense of duty; and we may rejoice to observe that that has certainly been the case in Mysore. The late Maharaja, in his devotion to his public duties, set before himself the inspiring example of his suzerain, our late beloved Queen, as he used often to tell his friends; and I honestly think that few public men, either in India or in England, have attained to a higher standard of public work. And whether we judge the present young Maharaja from his speeches, or from the public record of his work, or from the speech of Sir Donald Robertson at Robertsonpet, and the interesting description of that work here given us in the address of the Dewan, I think it is evident that he is proving himself the worthy son of a worthy sire. In this respect the Dewan's address is particularly valuable, as it deals comprehensively with the first year of the Maharaja's rule, and shows that his work in that period evinces remarkable industry and a keen and intelligent interest in the welfare of the people of Mysore, such as to do the highest credit to the teachings of the late Maharaja and of Her Highness the Maharani-Regent. During the year over 800 cases had been submitted to the Maharaja personally for his orders. These cases concerned matters of public interest and importance of every conceivable variety, extending, as it has been well observed, "from the Imperial Transport Corps to the eradication of spike disease in sandalwood-trees, and from the reorganization of the judicial courts of the State to the vaccination of prisoners." Including the hearing of petitions and the



cases sent up for decision from all the various Departments of State, the Maharaja is shown to have himself personally dealt with over 900 cases, extending over every branch of the administration.

The meeting of the Representative Assembly of Mysore in October, 1903, was the first that had been held for two years, for in 1902 the prevalence of plague rendered a meeting impossible. Even in 1903 the shadow of the plague still hung heavily over the land, and naturally diminished the attendance of provincial representatives; and it is significant of the energy and courage of both the Maharaja and the Dewan that the meeting was held, in spite of this grave obstacle, with a success that was attested by the whole press of India.

The inaugural speech of the Maharaja was both dignified and statesmanlike. Speaking to the chosen representatives of his people for the first time, His Highness very properly and appropriately seized the occasion to indicate, with equal courtesy and firmness, the public advantages to be secured by these meetings and by the labours of the representatives. The Assembly contains in itself the germ of the democratic idea, and may in course of future years develop still further in that direction. Any undue haste or premature action in this development, in a community whose best sentiments and traditions have always been more or less aristocratic, would be a misfortune for the people, as well as for their ruler and for the country at large. As the young Maharaja well observed, in opening the deliberations of the Assembly: "The sphere and functions of this Assembly must necessarily have their limitations, and it is obviously not in a position to accept any portion of the responsibility for the good government of the State which must exclusively remain with me." But His Highness hastened to add that all testimonies "speak highly of the moderation, the intelligence, and the practical good sense, that have characterized your discussions in the past." And he placed on record his opinion that "one of the conspicuous results of this

Assembly has been the consolidation of the sense of a common interest between the Government and the people."

Nor was the Maharaja content with merely noting the necessary limitations on the responsibilities of the Assembly and the broad and general scope of its discussions. He pointed out that (1) it provides a ready means whereby the people of Mysore can make their requirements, aspirations, and grievances known to the Government; (2) it affords the Government an opportunity for stating what it has accomplished during the past year, and what is intended in the next; and thus (3) it enables the Government and the people to understand each other better, and removes all possible grounds for misconception regarding the measures of Government. The clear and lucid address of Sir P. N. Krishna Murtti, and the comments of the Indian Press upon it and upon the leading features of his administration, show that these great advantages are fully appreciated by the subjects of the Maharaja, and also by their neighbours in British and feudatory India.

Before considering that address in somewhat further detail, I wish to advert to the admirable speech with which the Maharaja opened the Madras Industrial Arts Exhibition. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad aptly describes it as "a thoughtful and stimulating speech." Pointing out that the object of such exhibitions is "to convey to the public tangible evidence of the condition and progress of local industries, and to suggest to those interested latent possibilities of improvement," the Maharaja illustrated his point by reference to the very promising aluminium industry of Madras, to the improvements effected in silk-reeling in Mr. Tata's factory at Bangalore, and to similar enterprises. Like the Gaekwār of Baroda at Ahmedabad last year, the Maharaja had some words of real sound common-sense to offer to his audience on those trade questions that have been exercising the minds of most politicians of late in their relation to fiscal arrangements. "It is possible," he observed, "as we know from Parliamentary reports, to

demonstrate by statistics the increasing prosperity of the country generally. On the other hand, we in India know that the ancient indigenous handicrafts are decaying, that the fabrics for which India was renowned in the past are supplanted by the products of Western looms, and that our industries are not displaying that renewed vitality which will enable them to compete successfully in the home or the foreign market. . . . It is time for us in India to be up and doing. New markets must be found, new methods adopted, and new handicrafts developed." It is a fact of the highest promise for the industrial future of India that two of her greatest potentates—the Maharaja of Mysore and the Gaekwār of Baroda—are agreed in urging their countrymen to drop those doctrines of *laissez faire, laissez aller*, that are so dear to some of our English politicians, and to throw off that "commercial repose" that is recommended by some of our leaders here in England. Indian economists, fortunately, take a wider and broader view of the teachings of modern economical science than that which comes within the scope of the eternal *réchauffage* of Ricardo and Mill that forms the whole equipment, in this respect, of many British politicians.

And this reflection leads me to observe that the Dewan's address, to which I now return, shows that the financial position of the Mysore State is such as might arouse the envy of any other administration in the British Empire. Fossils of the Free Food persuasion may be galvanized into screaming by the shock of hearing what a good thing the State is making, alike for its own revenues and for the profit and convenience of many of its producers, out of the great national enterprise of harnessing the Cauvery Falls for the production of electric power. And this is only one of its many up-to-date enterprises. And the fact remains that in Mysore, notwithstanding great special charges, such as those of the Coronation Durbar at Delhi and of the installation of the Maharaja himself; notwithstanding the extraordinarily generous contribution that is annually paid

by Mysore to the funds of the central Government of India in return for our protection, in the shape of a subsidy of 35 lakhs ; and notwithstanding a most liberal expenditure, in every up-to-date direction, for the good of the people of the State, the Dewan is this year able to announce a substantial surplus of revenue over expenditure, to the extent of 6 lakhs, which would have been  $13\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs but for the special charges. And not satisfied even with this very satisfactory state of the public purse, Sir P. N. Krishna Murtti announces his intention to build up—out of such sources as the revenues derived from the Cauvery Electric Power and from the royalties on gold-mining—a reserve fund or invested surplus of at least 1 crore to meet possible famine ; whilst he states that he will not be content unless he can show, at the beginning of each financial year, a regular working balance of 75 lakhs.

That this enviable financial position is largely due to the wise administration, at once careful and enterprising, of the recent rulers of Mysore is obvious when we remember that the State is situated well within the famine zone of India, and has, in fact, suffered both from famine and from plague in a remarkable degree. It is true that the Government of India in Lord Lytton's time, recognising the heavy drain on the resources of Mysore caused by its repeated famines, agreed that for a considerable number of years a large remission should be made in the amount of the subsidy demanded from her by the central Government of India as payment for the national defence and for protection in general. And it seems to be understood that the very heavy annual charge of 35 lakhs on the revenues of the State in this respect is to a certain extent dependent on its financial prosperity, and might probably be remitted in whole or in part in the case of famine or other serious national calamity. Sir P. N. Krishna Murtti points out that the repeated surpluses of the very successful administration of his predecessor, the late Dewan, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, had only been rendered possible by these conces-

sions of the Government of India; and it is because of this that, in the address now under consideration, while announcing many great and valuable boons to the people of Mysore in addition to those already enjoyed by them, the Dewan declares himself absolutely determined to persevere in the thrifty and cautious policy adverted to above.

Of course, as all the world knows, much of the State's prosperity, and of the remarkable elasticity of its finances, is due to the marvellous richness of its gold deposits. The gold royalties now realize annually about 16 lakhs; and the Dewan states that the income from this source is "not likely to diminish—at least, for some years to come." On the contrary, it is quite evident that Mysore gold-mining is in its infancy even yet; for there are only about eleven full-power mines as yet at work, and the history of some of these, such as the Mysore and the Champion Reefs, sounds like a Monte Cristo story, for in some cases they return every year to their fortunate shareholders a far larger sum than their entire capital. And this return seems a steadily progressive one; for while last year the amount of gold obtained was 277 lakhs, this year it was over 330 lakhs of rupees. Moreover, it is to be remembered that this vast amount of mineral wealth is drawn from only one small district of Mysore, that of Kolar; and at first was only attained by dogged perseverance—for even the famous Mysore mine, the pioneer of all, was at one time on the point of being abandoned for lack of initial success. And, further, the geological experts, both those employed by the Government of India and those attached to the Government of Mysore, have shown, beyond all possibility of doubt, that at least equally rich gold formations are scattered over many other districts of the State besides that of Kolar; indeed, on some of the outcrops of these other reefs the remains of ancient workings are so extensive as to prove that at one time their surface richness was very great. Mysore is evidently destined to become the Rand of India, but with this enormous advantage over the Rand

of the Transvaal—that it possesses an unlimited supply of the best and cheapest labour in the world.

And here, again, this last consideration leads me to the reflection that the possibilities of future manufacturing industries, suggested by that wonderful enterprise the Cauvery Falls Electric Power installation, seem vast beyond the dreams of avarice. We all know what the Americans have done in this way at Niagara and elsewhere. We all know that competent observers declare that the sub-Alpine districts of Northern Italy are likely in the near future to rival our Lancashire cotton industry, simply by reason of the unlimited supply of electric power from their Alpine torrents. The same reason is producing a remarkable outburst of manufacturing energy in Switzerland, Norway, and other countries possessing large reserves of water-power convertible into electric power. Now, here at the Cauvery Falls, from the very first installation the Maharaja's Government derives a revenue of over 12 lakhs which will rise to over 17 lakhs in January, 1905, when the second installation will be completed. Nearly every district in Mysore is rich in this water-power, opening out potentialities, in these days of modern electrical science, exactly similar to those that sixty years ago were offered by the discovery of a rich coal-field.

In all these circumstances the future prosperity of Mysore may well be regarded as assured.

Of the many excellent undertakings of which the Dewan has something to tell us, one of the most promising—that of Agricultural Banks, so much needed for the development of Mysorean agriculture and for the relief and convenience of the agricultural population—has hitherto not been the success that was expected. There is nothing that Sir William Wedderburn has done for India more valuable than his persistent advocacy of these financial aids to Indian agriculture; and I think that there are now very few who do not believe that they will do a great work. Sir P. N. Krishna Murthi shows his faith in this principle, his

indomitable courage, and the resource which will enable him to overcome all difficulties, in his method of dealing with this important question. Like Sir Charles Tennant and the early adventurers in the Mysore gold-mine, the Dewan refuses to be daunted by initial want of success. This is what he said to the Assembly on the subject :

“The scheme, so far, may be said to have failed, primarily for want of co-operative spirit on the part of the people, and secondarily for want of adequate supervision on the part of the organizers of the Banks as to the purposes for which the funds were applied. Probably the entire financing of the scheme by direct grants from Government tended to weaken the motive for self-help and co-operation. It does not seem desirable to give large grants, even if the Government can afford to do so. On the other hand, if Government can, under certain declared conditions, give its guarantee for repayments of deposits of money made by the public, help in the collection of the dues, in the investigation of the value of lands, and in the application of the money borrowed for the purpose intended, and devise speedy means of disposing of claims against borrowers on the part of the Banks, etc., and if these measures attract deposits of savings and advances of money for agricultural loans, then may it be said that these Banks will stimulate the growth of thrift, mutual confidence, credit, and co-operation. The subject is of great importance, and requires to be approached on these lines, which can only be done after the present Banks are placed on a tolerably satisfactory basis. But there can be no question of the imperative necessity of cheap loans to agriculturists whose capital is locked up in their lands and stocks and who suffer from periodical uncertainties of the seasons.”

No less an area than 20,000 acres of what ought to be highly-valuable coffee-growing land in the State of Mysore has of late years gone out of cultivation—2,500 acres in last year alone—owing to the British craze for Free Trade, which has placed Indian and Ceylon coffee at the mercy of Continental tariffs and Brazilian and other competition. It is pleasant to see that the Mysore Government has taken the matter in hand with characteristic promptitude and energy. Of course they can do very little, for great is Diana of the Free Fooders and Free Importers! But a conference between the planters and a representative of the Government was held, and, in the words of the Dewan's address, “the fullest assurance of sympathy and help on the part of Government has been given to this

enterprising body of gentlemen, whose industry has been of so much benefit to this country." Nor was the Mysore Government content with offering barren assurances, but a substantial subsidy was given towards enabling the planting industry to exhibit at the Louisiana Exposition of 1904.

Most interesting details are given by the Dewan of the achievements of the Government in the past, and of their intentions for the future, in all those directions in which the fostering care of the State for its subjects can best be given—in the improvement of methods of agriculture and manufacture, in technical education, in irrigation, in forestry, in water-supply and sanitation, and in numerous other directions. The record of good work done and of high resolves entertained is throughout an inspiring one, and will be cheering reading to every well-wisher of India. I warmly and heartily commend the study of this address to every member of Parliament, and, indeed, to everyone who takes an intelligent interest in our greatest dependency.



## SIMLA AND PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS.

BY AN IMPERIALIST.

*PARTURIUNT montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.* For some weeks or months the usual oracular paragraphs and quasi-inspired articles in the *Pioneer* have warned an expectant world that Simla was in labour over the question of Imperial Preferential Tariffs. Long ago Mr. Chamberlain informed Sir M. M. Bhownaggee that he was unable to deal with the Indian aspect of this great question, for the very simple reason that no information had been vouchsafed to him from the accredited sources of Indian intelligence. The Free Fooders attributed this fact either to Mr. Chamberlain's innate perversity or to his crass ignorance. Less prejudiced people thought it was probably due to Lord George Hamilton's determined opposition at the India Office. But it was generally believed that Lord Curzon's Imperial leanings—even if somewhat hampered at first by respect for the opinions of his senior and superior at Whitehall—would find some means of bringing India into line with the United Kingdom and the colonies; or else that, in the alternative, however reluctantly, he would show overwhelming reasons for the maintenance of a fiscal system which, though absolutely controlled by the British Parliament, forces Britishers and Indians to treat each other in these things as foreigners, with no more concern for each other's trade interests than for those of Russians or Germans.

The Blue Book has at last given us the "Views of the Government of India on the Question of Preferential Tariffs." The unusual form of the title given to this Dispatch, and the use of the word "views" in the plural, show a saving sense of humour on the part of the printer or editor. He does not think it necessary to call it the "Various and hopelessly-conflicting views of the Govern-

ment of India," for that character is clearly inscribed on every paragraph of a State paper that is probably one of the most incoherent, inconsequential, and illogical that Simla has ever produced.

It may, however, at once be said that the minute by Sir Edward Law attached to this "viewy" document affords a remarkably clear and exhaustive account of the present condition of the import and export trade of India. It is accompanied, too, by tables which are valuable so far as they go, but that is, unhappily, only so far as the existing commerce of India is concerned, and without any comparative data for judging of its tendencies. These figures teach us something of the statics of Indian trade, but nothing of its dynamics. But we cannot help thinking that even these figures, partial and defective as they clearly are, prove enough to justify "views" much more decided and virile than any that can be gathered from the impotent letter signed by Lord Curzon and his five assessors.

The statement of views commences by pointing out that Lord George Hamilton only permitted these gentlemen to state their views on the Resolution of the Colonial Prime Ministers in 1902 "from the point of view of Indian interests," not from the point of view of the interests of the British Empire as a whole. So they do not say one word on the Imperial aspect of this question—as to whether it may not be well to teach Englishmen and Indians to have a brotherly regard for each other's trade interests, and thus to feel that there are some material, as well as sentimental, privileges attaching to the citizenship of the British Empire. Yet is not this a consideration that should have such weight with the Government of India as to induce them to strive for some means of bringing it about? The Free Fooders tell us they have succeeded in securing the free, or almost free, import of Lancashire cotton-goods into India, simply by assuring the Indian peoples that we know that Free Trade in general is best for them. Yes, but have those assurances induced the Indian peoples to love either

us or Free Trade any the more? Will Free Trade enable our Lancashire manufacturers to compete in the Indian market with the cheap surplusage of the myriad mills of America and Germany and Italy, protected in their home markets? And might not the Indian peoples be inclined to look with a more favourable eye on the free import of our Lancashire cotton-goods, if they saw that that free import was a tangible *quid pro quo* from them for the preferences accorded to them in England and the colonies, and not merely a benefit filched from Indian revenues at the expense of Indian industries, under the pretence of a dogma that not a living soul outside the United Kingdom nowadays believes in? At present we order the Indians to admit our Lancashire goods free, by a motion in the House of Commons proposed by a Lancashire member; and the Indians very naturally declare that that gentleman's references to Free Trade are simply Pecksniffian. The admission of India into a British Commercial Union, on give and take terms, to be settled by free and fair negotiations between the representatives of India and ourselves, would at once raise India (as Sir Edward Sassoon has wisely observed) almost to the rank of a self-governing Power; and would not our Indian fellow-subjects appreciate that somewhat more than the hypocritical pretences of the Free Importers?

But to all these considerations the Government of India has nothing to say in this Dispatch, because its "views" thereon were not invited by Lord George Hamilton.

Next the Dispatch proceeds to point out with some asperity that the Government of India is asked to determine on *à priori* grounds their attitude towards a policy which has only been put before them by Lord George Hamilton in the most general and indefinite terms—"hedged round with qualifications and provisoes calculated to admit of almost any limitation, variation, or exception when applied in practice to the conditions of any particular colony." "There is nothing," these unfortunate and helpless gentlemen declare,

"before us in the nature of a definite scheme on the suitability of which to Indian circumstances we can pronounce with confidence." Well, they certainly have *not* "pronounced with confidence" in this Dispatch; and as a matter of fact, nearly every opinion stated therein in one paragraph is either materially qualified or altogether traversed in another!

This "fumbling" with a great Imperial question of the highest political importance is in striking contrast with the manly utterances, so far as they have yet been heard, of those who are best qualified to speak on the commercial and industrial aspects of the question. No one who knows anything whatever of India practically—we do not count mere theorists like Sir Edgar Vincent and Mr. Winston Churchill, who can only get their ideas at second-hand—will have any doubt as to the great weight of the opinion of Sir Charles Elliott (the author of the Report of the Famine Commission), of Sir Edward Buck, of Sir Edward Sassoon, of Sir George Arbuthnot, of Mr. Eden. At the recent meeting of the Calcutta Trades Association, the speech of the Master on this question, full of the Imperial instincts of our British race, is in refreshing contrast with the "quilllets and quiddities" of Lord Curzon and his colleagues, whose only concern is whether India cannot gain twopence halfpenny by close trade relations with Germany or Russia instead of twopence farthing by a fiscal alliance with England and the colonies. And the same Imperial tone pervaded the speech of the President of the Madras Chamber of Commerce at its last annual meeting.

It is, indeed, highly probable that the fumbling of the Government of India is due to the immense preoccupations just now of Lord Curzon; for not even His Excellency's severest critic would venture to suggest that he has not, as a rule, the courage of his convictions. Whatever may be individual opinion as to the merits or demerits of his handling of such difficult questions as the Official Secrets

Bill, or the treatment of Europeans in criminal cases, or the advance into Tibet, no one can deny that he has handled them all very boldly, not to mention other equally contentious matters. But his heart has always been on the northern frontier of India, if not beyond; so possibly unexpected timidity in regard to Fiscal Imperialism may be explained and excused by absorption in the military aspects of the same Imperialism.

There are, however, two points on which the Government of India gives no uncertain sound in this Dispatch—and on these points the decision here given may be accepted as authoritative and final.

The first is with regard to the silly pedantry—started by Lord George Hamilton at Ealing, and subsequently harped on by such lesser lights of the Free Food persuasion as Sir Edgar Vincent and Mr. Churchill—that pretended to be alarmed lest the adoption by India of a Preferential Tariff in favour of England might result in India coercing the Secretary of State and the House of Commons into allowing her to impose protective duties against England! No paradox is too ridiculous for a Free Fooder, if it can win a cheer from the Radical benches or praise from the *Daily News*. But the Government of India has not yet sunk to the intellectual level of the Free Food fanatics; and the Dispatch brushes aside this sophistical rubbish with the contemptuous remark (Blue Book, p. 7) that it “is not, so far as we can judge, within the sphere of practical politics.”

It is amusing to note that Lord George Hamilton, the inventor of this twaddle, when speaking on Mr. Morley's fiscal amendment in the House of Commons on the very day after the publication of Lord Curzon's Dispatch, not only trotted out the twaddle again, but actually added that the newly-published Dispatch “confirmed the views he had expressed” Lord George had evidently not got as far as p. 7 in his study of the Blue Book.

The second point on which the Government of India

ventures to express a decided opinion is one of far greater importance than any of these foolish figments of the Free Fooders. It is in regard to the results to the British manufacturer to be expected from the adoption of Preferential Tariffs between the United Kingdom and India. In paragraph 12 they say that "it might be of appreciable advantage to the United Kingdom" generally; and with regard to no less than £10,000,000 sterling of the import trade of India, Lord Curzon and his shivering colleagues take their courage in both hands, and declare that, whatever Lord George Hamilton and the Free Fooders may say, "a substantial Preferential Tariff against the foreigner would be of material benefit to the British manufacturer."

Of course it would. No one with any knowledge of Indian trade, except a fool or a fanatic, could ever have doubted it. But it is important to notice that even this admission is ridiculously minimized by its restriction to only £10,000,000 of British imports into India—at least, if the obvious *tendencies* of the other imports be considered. For this restriction is justified by Simla on the ground that £23,000,000 of British imports (being the balance of a total import in India from Britain of £33,000,000) will be found to be a *quasi* monopoly, and therefore safe from the foreigner, and not to be benefited by preferential treatment. And it is simply astounding to find that Simla places in this category of monopoly our hardware and cutlery trade, though it is notorious that Belgium and Germany are gaining on us in India hand over hand; also iron, though the last returns show that the total import into India of British iron and steel goods has diminished since 1892-1893 from 52 per cent. to 32 per cent. of the total import, while Belgium has secured the practical monopoly of the Burma market; also woollens, though the last returns show that the Germans are gaining on us in this trade. Even as to Lancashire cotton goods—which, of course, are included in the Simla list of monopolies that would not benefit from preference over the foreigner—a little more care for the

interests of Lancashire might have induced the Government of India to attach some importance to the very different view that is taken in India and in America. We will quote just one passage on this from *United India*, one of the most influential native reviews. This journal, speaking of American competition on January 28 last, says :

“She is now doing her utmost to invade foreign markets, the markets of India more especially. Where else is there such a large population, a population of 300,000,000, almost all using apparel made of cotton material, than in India? . . . The United States is a powerful rival to Great Britain in India. She is now making but slow progress, but she is more than a match for our ruling country, and soon India's supply of finished cotton goods will be to a considerable extent American.”

And in the face of this, Lord Curzon and his colleagues tell the world, in Section 12 of this wise Dispatch, that the cotton trade, as well as all the others we have alluded to, is “practically secure from foreign competition even under present conditions.” We wonder whether Lancashire takes the same rosy view?

The steady decay of British trade to the rapidly developing markets of Burma is absolutely notorious. Mr. David Norton, an admitted authority, says of it :

“Last year the exports of merchandise from the United Kingdom to Burma were valued at 353 lakhs of rupees, as against 361 lakhs in the preceding year and 403 lakhs in 1900-1901. While we were thus losing ground foreigners were gaining it. Burma's imports from Austria, Belgium, Holland, the United States, and Japan increased largely, so much so that Belgium has now a monopoly of Burma's markets for bar iron, and is also making headway rapidly in hardware. Again, Austria now supplies most of Burma's increasingly large demands for enamel ware, while Japan's silks and cotton piece goods are ousting those which used formerly to be supplied from England.”

All this is matter of common knowledge and common observation in Rangoon. And much more of the same sort is told us from Bombay, Calcutta, and other Indian ports. It is only up in the clouds of Simla, or in the coteries inspired by Simla, that we hear of the Indian markets being “secured to British manufacturers for a long time to come, without any assistance from a discriminating tariff.”

But now, on the other important points involved in this discussion : (a) The advantages and disadvantages to Indian trade and industry that might be expected from a system of Preferential Tariffs ; (b) the probability or possibility of the foreigner successfully retaliating on Indian trade ; (c) the advantages and disadvantages to Indian trade that might be expected from a fiscal system of retaliation, unaccompanied by any preference within the Empire, and therefore devoid of any political or Imperial advantage whatever—on each of these points the “views” of the Government of India seem to be sadly “mixed,” illogical, and incoherent. We will briefly consider (a), (b), and (c) in turn.

Taking point (a), could anything be more feeble than the following remarks on the advantages to be expected by Indian trade from a preference in the United Kingdom and the Colonies :

“On the other hand, the preferential advantage which we might hope to receive is neither large nor assured. If duties are not to be imposed on raw materials imported into the United Kingdom, India can receive no advantage in the home market for these. In the case of tea, India and Ceylon already divide between them more than nine-tenths of the trade of the United Kingdom. A reduction of the present duty of 6d. a pound might not improbably stimulate consumption, and would so far benefit this country, but for preferential treatment as such there is very little room. In the case of wheat there is ample room, but the supply from India, though increasing, is still uncertain. Any advantage that might be given would be shared not merely with Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, but also with growers in the United Kingdom itself ; and, moreover, it seems inevitable that any duty that may be imposed on this article, and therefore any preference to India, must be of relatively small amount. In the case of rice, India already supplies two-thirds of the demand in the home market. The only considerable articles of consumption that remain are coffee and tobacco. Of the former, our total exports to all countries amount to only about one-third of the foreign import into the United Kingdom, and a large proportion—exceeding £200,000 worth per annum—finds a profitable market in France, notwithstanding the relatively heavy duty levied in that country. Indian tobacco is at present very unfavourably treated in the United Kingdom, being subject to the same specific duty as the higher valued American article. If the two were placed on a footing of equality, and still more, if the Indian article were accorded preferential treatment, our trade should receive a considerable stimulus, although pipe tobacco, for which the



demand in England is so large, has not hitherto been manufactured successfully in this country. We may add that Indian indigo would benefit by discrimination against the artificial product."

This paragraph is obviously a hopeless muddle—a muddle apparently caused by the endeavour of the writer to force most refractory facts to fit themselves to the foregone conclusion with which he starts.

For just consider what he says about tea. A pound of Indian tea which has cost less than 8d. to produce is taxed 6d., making its total cost 1s. 2d. The war tax is 2d., which will probably be taken off all round; and under the Preferential Tariff scheme a further 2d. is taken off tea grown within the Empire, but not off China and other tea. Thus the cost of the Indian pound of tea would be reduced to 10d., and it would have a preference of 2d. over the China tea, which occupies about one-tenth of the whole British market. And yet all that the writer can say of this is that it "might not improbably stimulate consumption, and would so far benefit this country!" And he goes on to qualify even this feeble admission by adding: "But for preferential treatment as such there is very little room!" It strikes me that the Indian tea interest, both in India and at home, will take a very different view of the matter, even on the facts as stated in the Dispatch. It is, of course, quite true that Indian and Ceylon teas already supply nine-tenths of the *present* consumption in England, and perhaps also in the Colonies, and to that extent it may be said that there is "very little room" for preferential treatment as such. But, after all, the sale of one-ninth more than it already sells, even on the existing consumption and with present rates of profit, would be not such a bad thing for the Indian tea interest; and infinitely more important than this would be the enormous expansion of consumption, and that, too, in assured and progressive markets, that would certainly ensue when a sum equivalent to, say, 30 per cent. on the cost of production is taken off and

becomes divisible between tea producers in India and tea consumers in the rest of the British Empire.

In the above quotation from the Dispatch, the statement about Indian coffee seems to me to be absolutely incoherent. But Sir Edward Law's Minute puts the matter straight enough, not only about tea and coffee, but also about tobacco, indigo, and wheat.

"If the encouragement I have suggested were offered to the importation of Indian tea and tobacco, and if a tariff were introduced in the United Kingdom discriminating in favour of Indian coffee, important advantages would be secured to the producers of these articles. To a minor extent discrimination in favour of imports from India would be beneficial in the case of various other products, the more important of which are probably wheat and oil seeds. . . . It should be specially noted that if, in accordance with the general foreign system of tariffs, the United Kingdom were to impose a reasonable duty on synthetic indigo as a chemical compound, whilst admitting natural indigo free as raw material, the difficulties of our indigo-planters would disappear as if by magic. And this is perhaps not too much to expect, the competition between the two articles being so close that the manufacturer could not appreciably suffer by the exclusion of the one or the other. This is an important point which should not be lost sight of."

"Should not be lost sight of!"—a comparison of this view of Sir Edward Law's with the quotation from the Simla Dispatch, given above, shows that Simla persistently "loses sight" of, or else fumbles with, every consideration that promises better things for the Indian producer, especially when the promise affects the planting interests, whether of tea, coffee, or indigo.

But this general slackness—for it is absurd to suppose that the Government of India is intentionally hostile to the planters—is hardly less marked in relation to such purely indigenous products as wheat, barley, rice, sugar, and tobacco.

Take wheat. In the passage quoted above, Simla admits that there is "ample room for preferential treatment." But it offers the futile objection, so natural to the anti-Imperialists, that the advantages of preferential treatment would have to be shared with the wheat-growers of Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand!—as if this compe-

tition were, at least in present circumstances, other than a mere flea-bite compared with the infinite advantage of being relieved from the competition with the United States alone, not to mention Russia and other possible sources of foreign supply ! But even this does not exhaust Simla's futilities ; it expresses the valuable opinion that a mere preference of 2s. a quarter (equivalent to an extra bonus of, say, 7 or 8 per cent. on the average) on Indian wheat is " of relatively small amount," and therefore not worth trying for !

And not one word has Simla to say for the great Imperial advantage obviously attaching to any great expansion of a food-crop grown under irrigation, and therefore not liable to destruction by drought, in India—that it affords the one and only automatic form of insurance against the horrors of Indian famines. For whilst the 2s. preference will be quite enough to provide a return in ordinary years on the extra outlay in works of irrigation, in famine years this crop, or some portion of it, would always be available for diversion to those districts which have suffered from drought.

The possibilities of the future of the Indian tobacco industry, under preferential treatment by England and the Colonies, are so stupendous that they almost arouse a little glimmer of enthusiasm, even in the Simla scribe. But even on this subject the two voices that speak in the *Dispatch* are laughably at variance, as shown in the quotation at p. 243. The one voice tells us that at present the higher-valued American tobacco is virtually protected against Indian tobacco by our existing British tariff, and that, consequently, any change would benefit India. But the other voice adds the objection or qualification that " pipe tobacco, for which the demand in England is so large, has not hitherto been manufactured successfully in this country." That is true ; but why is it so ? Obviously because the protection now given by England to the American tobacco has made such manufacture hopeless in India.

But we must not linger more over these preferential

futilities, which abound in every paragraph of the Simla Dispatch, for there is even a more hopeless muddle over the proposals for retaliation. The vagueness and unreality of these proposals, especially as to the possible duration and extent of any retaliatory measures, appear to have a certain charm for the writer or writers. When discussing the proposals for Imperial preferential trade, Simla affects great dread of the possibility of the foreigner successfully retaliating on India, though every one of the facts cited, and every one of the figures given, without a single exception, show conclusively that the possibility is practically non-existent, and that consequently the dread is a mere pretence. And so persistently is this pretence indulged in throughout the Dispatch that it is actually carried to the extent of simulating a fear lest—(1) Preferences should irritate the foreigner into retaliation; (2) this retaliation should cause a shrinkage of Indian export trade; and (3) this shrinkage should upset Indian exchanges, and bring about a general cataclysm. We shall endeavour briefly to show that this monstrous figment is grotesquely opposed to truth, alike in its premises and in its conclusions. But suppose for a moment it were true. What, then, becomes of the valiant sentiment with which the Dispatch concludes?—a sentiment which, though it seems a mere aspiration or hope rather than the declaration of a policy, is the only tangible outcome of the discussion:

“All that we seek is that we shall not be pledged in advance to accord equal treatment to the imports of all countries alike, irrespective of whether they penalize our exports or not. And we are hopeful that the mere announcement that our hands are free will of itself suffice to maintain us in the enjoyment of that considerable measure of free exchange which we already possess, and from time to time even to extend it.”

If this declaration is anything more practical than a mere pious opinion, it means that the Government of India repudiates the old Free Trade dogma that import duties may only be levied for revenue purposes, and that if any foreign country penalizes Indian exports, India will put an

import duty on that country's goods. But how, in the name of common-sense, does that fit in with the declaration in Section 17 of the Dispatch to which we have alluded? We will quote the very words of the section :

"In a financial aspect, the danger to India of reprisals by foreign nations, even if eventually successful, is so serious, and their results would be so disastrous, that we should not be justified in embarking on any new policy of the kind unless assured of benefits greater and more certain than any which, so far, have presented themselves to our mind."

The hazy idea in the mind of the Government of India seems to be this: "If we irritate the foreigner by our fiscal arrangements, he will have recourse to 'reprisals,' which will be bad for us. The risk of those reprisals is worth taking if it is taken in revenge for the foreigner 'penalizing our exports,' but it is not worth taking if it is taken merely for the purpose of consolidating the British Empire, of binding together England and India by ties of common material interests, of giving a vast impetus to the Indian trade of British manufacturers and to the British trade of Indian produce-growers."

If those are the views of Simla, we doubt very much whether they will command the assent of Calcutta or Bombay, of Madras or Rangoon or Karachi—or, indeed, of any community of practical men interested in the future of Indian commerce and industry. For all the facts and figures collected by Sir Edward Law prove beyond the possibility of doubt that there is absolutely no ground whatever for the foolish fears of foreign reprisals entertained by the Government of India. Sir Edward has examined, in the most elaborate detail, the export trade of India to foreign countries, and a study of his Minute and of the tables attached to it shows that, amazing as it may seem in face of the declaration of the Government of India just quoted, there is absolutely not one large important staple of export that is in the least likely to be injured by foreign reprisals, so far as the facts or probabilities are known; there is not even one in which the volume of export is

likely to be diminished by such reprisals ; there is not a single foreign country that is really likely to think of such reprisals at all, and for most of them reprisals are simply impossible.

The Minute and its tables are in the hands of our readers, so we need only quote from it so much as will suffice to establish our contention—a contention that goes to the very root of the whole matter—and that, if established, removes at a blow every possible ground of objection to the entry of India into the Imperial British Commercial Federation.

We will follow Sir Edward Law by taking the foreign countries to which Indian exports go, in the order of their importance as to volume of trade.

The China trade, direct and indirect, is by far the largest in volume. That obviously, as Sir Edward notes, will not be affected. And this puts £11,000,000 of annual exports, out of the Indian total of £51,000,000, altogether beyond the danger dreaded by the Government of India.

Next come the exports to Germany, value £6,000,000. “Practically in each case their importations,” Sir Edward observes, “is a necessity for the success of some German industry in which large capital has been invested, and any check to which would prove a serious blow to Germanic economic prosperity.” And he concludes as to Germany : “We may rest fairly assured that she could not, in her own interests, tax our exports.”

Next comes France, taking annually over £5,000,000 worth of food and raw materials, including hard wheat for making semolina, and oil seeds for oil wherewith to adulterate Lucca oil and to make margarine. There is some lack of information here, Sir Edward tells us ; but France already taxes Indian coffee to the tune of 100 per cent., and her other imports are raw materials. And he significantly adds : “No French Government could withstand the outcry in Marseilles if the oil and margarine industries were interfered with, and the threat of an export

duty in India on the raw material would probably compel the French Government to accord favourable terms for the importation of other Indian products, with regard to which our position may not be strong."

Much the same remarks apply to the United States, taking annually to the value of nearly £5,000,000, all raw material for the leather and other important manufactures, except gunnybags and other jute manufactured goods. As India holds the monopoly of raw jute, no country largely working up jute (as America does more and more every year) can afford to run the risk of India placing an export duty on it.

Next comes Japan, taking Indian commodities annually to the value of £3,520,000. "There is no reason," says Sir Edward Law, "why new arrangements with other countries should necessarily entail any change of business relations with the Japanese."

Next is Belgium, importing from India to the value of £2,850,000. "It is clear," says Sir Edward, "that India has little or nothing to fear from a tariff war with Belgium."

Then Austria-Hungary, taking to the value of about £1,600,000. Sir Edward sums up: "There is not, I think, the very least fear of Austria adopting a tariff prejudicial to reasonable Indian interests."

Italy takes from India to the value of a little over £2,000,000 annually. Sir Edward Law finds there is some lack of information as to the use made of these imports. But here, again, they are entirely raw materials, including oil seeds for adulterating Lucca oil; and though India may be in no very strong position to accept a tariff war, Sir Edward declares that "the Italians are not in a strong position to provoke it." They are most unlikely to injure their own manufactures out of mere spite, even if India were to adopt some mild imitation of their own fiscal arrangements.

The Russian import trade is inconsiderable; and Sir

Edward says: "Clearly, we have nothing to fear from a tariff war with Russia."

The Dutch import trade is also unimportant, consisting mainly of oil seeds for £290,000; and the Finance Minister says of it: "I do not think that in connection with the subject under consideration we need concern ourselves much about our trade with Holland."

Now we have gone through the whole list! And where, oh where, is the slightest ground for the statement in Section 17 of the Dispatch as to "the danger to India of reprisals by foreign nations" if we attempt to consolidate the Empire by a system of Preferential Tariffs? Which is the foreign nation from whom this danger can possibly arise? We claim to have shown that the suggestion is simply a figment.

And even if one country were to put a retaliatory duty on some Indian raw material, what appreciable effect would that have on the general volume of Indian exports? What probability is there of other countries being so foolish as to join in the unprofitable game? Would they not take the opportunity to add to their own production of the particular manufacture concerned, and consequently increase their import of raw material from India?

And then Simla takes no count whatever of the certain enormous expansion of the inter-Imperial trade. India and England are the complements of each other in their needs: India requires the products of highly-organized scientific industry, England requires raw materials to work up therein, and she also requires food. In precisely similar circumstances, within the eight years that followed the conclusion of the tariff war between Germany and Russia, German imports of Russian foodstuffs increased 210 per cent., while the imports of German manufactures into Russia increased 200 per cent. Would not this, and even more, come to the mutual trade of England and India under Preferential Tariffs?

But Simla, intent on very different objects, is all for



commercial repose. Indian exports, being so entirely of the nature of food or raw materials, are, of course, received quite affably by the enterprising foreigner—for our fiscal policy enables him to get them on far better terms than our manufacturers can—and when they are worked up by German or American labour, the finished product has the enormous added advantage that (all initial profits having been secured in Germany or America in a protected market) an absolutely unlimited amount of surplus production, produced at the cost of an old song, can be sold in the vast markets of India and England! In these circumstances Simla's great idea is to keep the foreigner in this affable humour towards the Indian export trade, for, if we irritate him, Simla thinks that there is just an off-chance that he might take reprisals, even to his own detriment—and that would be a bother to Simla.

It must, however, in fairness be admitted that, throughout this Dispatch, the Government of India gives away the whole case of the Little Englanders against Preferential Tariffs, so far as the trade between England and India is concerned, which, after all, is a consideration of some importance to most of us. The Financial Minister, in Section 76 of his Minute, makes this definite pronouncement, which we humbly commend to the notice of the so-called "Free Trade" journals of Manchester, Bradford, Leeds, Sheffield, Oldham, and other manufacturing centres :

"Whilst the adoption of mutually Preferential Tariffs in both the United Kingdom and India would probably, as regards the trade between the two countries, be advantageous to both, the interests of the United Kingdom in the adoption of such a preferential system are very much greater than those of India."

We hold that, to the true Imperialist mind, this authoritative statement should go far to settle the whole question, so far as the participation of India in an Imperial scheme is concerned. We believe that of all living British statesmen Lord Curzon is not the one most likely to forget the fact—though it was before his own time—that India was

in a way the birthplace of the Imperial idea as we understand it now, more fully than ever since the Boer War, as moulded and guided by the genius successively of Beaconsfield, of Salisbury, of Balfour, and of Chamberlain. The Imperial Durbar at Delhi, and the proclamation of the Empress in 1877, were events closely followed by the sending of Indian troops to Malta in token of the place of India in our Imperial polity and of the solidarity of the Empire. For these things Beaconsfield was assailed by the anti-Imperialists just as fiercely as Salisbury was assailed by them for his determination that the Empire should not be disintegrated at its core by Home Rule ; just as fiercely as Balfour and Chamberlain were assailed by the pro-Boers for their determination that the Empire should not be maimed and crushed by the loss of South Africa ; just as fiercely as Chamberlain is now assailed by the self-same men and their allies for his determination that the Empire, when saved from the assaults of the Little Englanders and the Home Rulers and the pro-Boers, shall not drift into disintegration through fanatical or malicious neglect of the most obvious precautions of fiscal consolidation. Of all the measures to which the present Viceroy has set his hand in India—and they have been many and valuable—not one approaches, in vital interest and far-reaching importance, the great chance that now offers of bringing Indians and Englishmen into closer union as citizens of one Empire, not only with the same sentiments, but also with the same interests. The danger to Empire is probably greater in this than in the former conflicts, for it must be sorrowfully admitted that for this occasion the traditional enemies of the Empire have been reinforced, not only by all the economic ignorance of the country, but also by the bigotry of a small but very violent section of the opposite party. Lord Curzon is standing now at the parting of the ways. The Dispatch we have been reviewing shows clearly enough that though all the facts and all the arguments are on the side of the Imperialists, there

are those among the Viceroy's advisers who would do everything in their power to bend those facts and those arguments to the other side. And they have the enormous initial advantage that always belongs to the advocates of a *laissez faire, laissez aller* policy of "Let well alone." The *status quo* is, like possession, nine points of the law. And though this fact probably does not appeal to Lord Curzon as it would to a less energetic Viceroy, still, it must have great attractions—might we venture to say temptations?—to an energetic statesman who is eagerly desirous of having his hands free for other enterprises of his own seeking. But, happily, the Viceroy has shown himself to be a man of clear vision as well as of absolute independence. The possibilities of Imperial Commercial Federation, not only for the trade of India, but also for her place in the Empire and for her hearty attachment thereto, are at once so vast and so inspiring that we may well hope that Lord Curzon will ere long definitely place himself by the side of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour at the head of this movement.

## THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF OUR FISCAL RELATIONS—CEYLON.

BY R. G. CORBET.

It is practically agreed on all hands that our fiscal relations are a matter of the most vital importance to us. According to the followers of Cobden, the ruin of the country, or something not far short of it, would attend any departure from the policy hitherto pursued, while their adversaries maintain that a like effect is to be feared from adherence to that policy. If this be so, the perfectly open mind with which all investigation should be approached is particularly called for where the inquiry advocated by Mr. Chamberlain is concerned: there is so much at stake in this instance that we cannot afford to let foregone conclusions warp the judgment, or suffer any attempt at begging the question to pass unchallenged. Such attempts have abounded ever since the subject was first brought forward, so, as we have to be ceaselessly on our guard against them, it may be worth while to look back upon a few of those made hitherto.

The name Free Trade, as interpreted by its present partisans—it was originally understood in quite a different sense,—is itself a *petitio principii*; one, moreover, postulating what is obviously not true, since they apply it to a system of favoured imports and fettered exports, in which the freedom is anything but complete. The rest of their tactics is on a par with this sailing under false colours.

They have, from the beginning, always seemed unable to argue except from misstated premises. Mr. Chamberlain had scarcely mooted the fiscal question when they tried to confuse the issue, asserting that he wanted the country to disturb its trade by entertaining a mad scheme, whereas, as a matter of fact, he had merely asked that we should thoroughly review our position and act upon the knowledge thus obtained. As Mr. C. A. Pearson, chairman of the Tariff Reform League, said many months later, "nothing

could be more disastrous to trade than delay over details when the necessity for action has been generally recognised;" and they appear to have mixed up this last stage with those that lead up to it. The effect Mr. Chamberlain's request produced upon them, by the way, is instructive. It was to be expected, if they felt assured of their creed passing in triumph through the ordeal, that they would welcome his suggestion with open arms, and eagerly submit all their data to the most searching analysis; but, instead of this, speech after speech exhibited their wrath at the bare idea of any inquiry, as though they considered it a sacrilegious doubt thrown upon a revealed dogma. They strove to stifle discussion by appeals to a judgment delivered of yore, when the conditions were entirely different, and to get people to take upon trust the perennial soundness and applicability of the "principles"—in reality these are merely theories, some of which have turned out contrary to experience—whereon it was based. The very things that require to be proved, indeed, are constantly put forward by them as if they were axioms to be subscribed to without question, so much so that it is hardly possible to turn to any of the utterances of the modern Free Trader without finding one or more of the grounds upon which he takes his stand to be mere assumptions, that may be denied in the same way as they are advanced: *quod gratis asseritur, gratis et negatur*.

Take the stock argument that England's prosperity is inseparable from present methods. In the first place, writers of Cobden's school have themselves been called by Mr. Chamberlain as witnesses that this prosperity was well on its way when Free Trade was inaugurated, and was therefore not due to it originally. Besides, it is certainly not by adopting our fiscal system that the United States have been enabled to make their enormous progress, or Germany to compete so successfully with our manufactures; and in the face of facts like these it becomes a moot point whether all the credit for our own development since

Cobden's time is to be given to Free Trade, especially when other factors, such as the advent of steam-power and the discovery of the goldfields, are taken into consideration. Finally, granting for the sake of argument that Free Trade once served our purpose to the extent claimed by its advocates, it by no means follows that it still does so, for circumstances may have changed so much as to render a new departure imperative. All these things must be weighed before accepting the statement endorsed by Sir William Harcourt—who, at the same time, gratuitously attributed all England's woes to Protection and all her weal to Free Trade,—that we are invited to return to the evils rampant before the repeal of the Corn Laws: a palpably absurd accusation, moreover, even supposing him not to have fathered these evils on the wrong cause, as the conditions then prevailing could not possibly be reproduced.

The future is used, or rather abused, in the same way as the past. Thus we have, among numberless instances, the confident predictions of the Free Food League, according to which a preferential tariff is impracticable, Mr. Chamberlain's policy would promote disintegration of the Empire, would endanger colonial patriotism, would injure our home trade, and so forth—prophecies which may be further eked out by the allegations, all crowded by one writer into a short article, that cost of living would "undoubtedly" go up if Mr. Chamberlain's ideas were carried out, that we should "assuredly" lose our foreign trade, that retaliation would seriously threaten commercial stability, that sudden collapses of big industries "would be the order of the day," that under Free Trade our manufacturers compete on equal terms with foreigners, and by a number of no less unsupported and sweeping assertions, in which no account is taken of circumstances that may warrant deductions diametrically opposite to those arrived at. It must be borne in mind that the problem, in each of its parts, is extremely complicated; all that is connected with it must

therefore be subjected to the closest scrutiny, from every possible point of view, before it can be used as a starting-point for any reliable conclusion. Mere accumulations of statistics, for example, cannot be accepted out of hand as evidence.\* A strict analysis of figures is indispensable, to prevent them from giving a wrong impression of the trend of events; for, in the absence of proof that things will always remain as they are, what is told of the past by statistics is not necessarily a trustworthy guide to the future. Their comparative value, too, must not be lost sight of: there are occasions when ratio may be a truer test than positive numbers.

Time is required for the full comprehension of such items, and of their bearing upon the admittedly momentous issue before us, and time, accordingly, must be allowed the country if it is to weigh the pros and cons satisfactorily and give its verdict aright. A hurried, incomplete investigation, followed by a premature decision, might be fatal. This is what the Opposition tried to force on when the matter was first ventilated, and what they appear to have hankered after ever since. Lord Rosebery manifested this desire as late as November 25, when, amongst a number of equally convincing positions, such as the real outcome of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals being State socialism, he averred that the postponement of a dissolution on the fiscal question was "impracticable and impossible." But why? If the present system is all that he represents it, what is there about its discussion so dreadful that it must be avoided at all hazards; by means of a precipitate appeal to the electorate? Ought not the excellencies of Free Trade to shine with increased splendour if brought well into the noonday light?

Needless to add that Lord Rosebery has put before us no adequate reason for haste; we have merely been

\* Cf. Mr. O. Eltzbacher's scathing strictures on the Blue-Book on British and Foreign Trade and Industry in the *Morning Post* of December 25, 26, and 28.

expected, as usual, to take its necessity for granted. This we must refuse to do, as we must refuse to concede all other unproved propositions.

## II.

The practice of requiring implicit acquiescence in controvertible premises extends to the oversea aspects of the question. Of our self-governing kinsmen across the water we have been persistently asked to believe, *inter alia*, that they look askant at Mr. Chamberlain's suggestions; and this, almost incredible as it may seem, in spite of the initiative of the Colonial Premiers at conference after conference, and of the preferential treatment given us, spontaneously and without equivalent on our part, by Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand. Where the rest of the Empire is concerned misleading affirmation has been varied by a judicious reticence, highly useful if it is desired to minimize, say, the effects upon the West Indies, Mauritius, etc., of the favour we have so long shown Continental bounty-fed sugars, or the leave we give all and sundry—fully taken advantage of by vessels of several nations which exclude our flag from their own seaboard—to compete in British waters with British shipping, unhampered by a Plimsoll line and the other restrictions imposed by us upon the latter. But here, also, actual parallogism leads the way. Thus, Lord Lansdowne, though evidently in good faith, gave the House of Lords (May 4, 1903) a totally incorrect idea of the situation when he defended the new Persian duties because they “were not very much larger than those we impose upon tea in this country”; for, even granting that the latter were not too high, it did not follow that a sum which was insignificant to an Englishman might not be prohibitive to the inhabitant of a poorer land, and might not, therefore, nip in the bud the introduction into it of British teas—as Mr. H. F. B. Lynch, in this REVIEW,\* has since shown it to have done very effectively at Moham-

\* October, 1903, p. 230.



mera. Thus, again, commenting on a letter in the *Times* from Mr. William Martin Leake, Secretary of the Ceylon Association in London, the *Manchester Guardian* tried to make out, from the increase in the proportion of Indian and Ceylon to Chinese teas sold in London, that British producers in general could safely be left without support in their struggle against the foreigner (September 25, 1903); a conclusion wider than the premises, and one the less warranted, besides, inasmuch as the victory of British teas is due in great measure to their being an entirely different article from that superseded by them.

At the same time, the *Manchester paper*, apparently on Dante's principle that *un bel tacer non fu mai scritto*, attempted no answer to another part of the letter, in which Mr. Leake spoke of the inconsistency of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and Mr. Ritchie—the Free Food League was not then in the front rank—in retaining the tea duty while condemning all taxes on food. As a Ceylon planter put the matter, writing to the *Times* a month later, "There has never been Free Trade for us. Free Trade is for the benefit of the foreigner, not for loyal colonists." If Mr. Morley fears the Customs House officer, it is only in connection with the alien's privileges; the existence of a highly expensive Customs service and of severe Customs regulations, most obstructive to business in our ports, is nothing to him so long as we merely tax such articles as tea, the bulk of which is brought from the British producer to the British consumer in British vessels, with the necessary result that the duty upon it comes entirely out of the pockets of British subjects. Imposts like this are dear to the heart of Mr. Chamberlain's opponents.

The usual sophisms have, of course, been brought forward against the suggestion that the burden on tea should be lightened. It is only possible here to notice two of them, and a third with which they are intimately connected. The prophecy that the revenue would lose 75 per cent. of the duty now received is based on the supposition

that the lower prices due to diminished taxation would not cause a greater quantity of tea to be consumed, and this supposition, if producers are right, is false; they maintain the contrary, and are consistent in doing so, since they have always protested that the present *ad valorem* duty of 80 per cent. is a check upon consumption. Equally unsupported by evidence is the contention that British teas would suffer from the reduction of the tax, and that it would but serve to let inferior Chinese produce flood the market. The advocates of both kinds agree in declaring that the two teas are quite distinct in flavour, as in all else. Is it to be expected, then, that a palate accustomed to the one would straightway give it up for the other, and especially for the worst specimens available? What makes this still more unlikely is that previous change, as a rule, has been in the opposite direction: people in Russia and other countries, as well as at home, have gradually been weaned from Chinese to Indian and Ceylon teas, not from the latter to the former. But even if the universal development of a depraved taste were a probability to be guarded against, would there be no preventive save the maintenance of a tax which at one time was believed to threaten the very existence of our tea industry?

The abatement of the dues on the British article alone would prevent the dumping of "rubbishy" Chinese teas in London, and would simultaneously lessen any diminution there might be in the revenue; but here the third assumption, that all teas must be treated alike, comes to the assistance of the other two. The reasons given are contradictory. It is contended, on the one hand, that the quantity of Chinese tea consumed in this country is so small that a preference in favour of the British producer would do him no good; and, on the other, that Mr. Chamberlain is bound to reduce the tax on Chinese tea as well as on that from India and Ceylon, so that the working classes may have a sufficient supply. Now, in order not to produce more than the United Kingdom can take, our planters have had to

restrict their output in every way ; this, to say the least, affords a strong presumption of their ability, if called upon, alone to provide enough tea for the home market. Is it so very certain, then, that the working man would be deprived of his tea unless the door were opened for the leavings of the Chinese crop ? As for the theory that British teas have nothing to gain from preference, it fails to take into consideration, amongst other things, the contingency of their having an incomparably more dangerous rival to deal with than the Far East. It is easy enough for them to hold their own so long as they only have to beat such places as Foochow, where it has been impossible to obtain any improvement on the old system ; but it would be quite a different matter if the Cameroons were brought into the lists. Farewell in that case to the advantageous comparisons now so plentifully drawn with the dirty, antiquated methods of the Chinese ! The German, with his usual thoroughness, would be sure to adopt the most modern machinery, and put in practice the latest teachings of science. A preferential tariff might not be as superfluous against such an adversary, who would probably have the advantage of subsidized steamers and the like, as it is held to be against the Chinaman, especially since the fate of tea-planting in the Cameroons may depend in no small measure on the amount of encouragement to be expected from us.

The tax aimed by Russia against India and Ceylon has been another flowing source of vicious reasoning. Mr. G. Toulmin, M.P., who hugs himself for his persuasion that our teas have been penalized in retaliation for the Brussels Sugar Convention, entirely forgets that this retaliation has been confined to British products, while Russia has not raised a finger against the nations which, according to the current expression, would not "take it lying down"—facts tending to show nothing except that there is no other country against which she dares to employ such reprisals, and that she only does so in our case because she knows that we

will not strike back. The conclusion which he would fain draw, that the Sugar Convention has been hurtful to its signatories, remains unproved so long as the British alone suffer. But Mr. Toulmin is logic personified as compared with Mr. J. M. Maclean, whom the *Times* reports as saying that a duty on Russian petroleum oil "would be met through the imposition of penalties in the tea trade." Why, the Russian penalties on India and Ceylon teas have gone before, and the taxation of Russian oil in return cannot possibly, therefore, bring them into existence! It is easier to conceive its putting an end to them, as the *Birmingham Gazette* suggests: India takes £870,000 worth of petroleum from Russia yearly, and ought in consequence to be able to drive a good bargain, particularly if she were joined by Ceylon and backed by the Mother Country.

No argument dealing with retaliation by or against any of the British Dominions is conclusive when it ignores the part which they might play in the aggregate. Even Canada, strong as she is alone, would be far more so if she spoke through a Greater Britain—really forming one State, one fiscal whole, with a single coasting trade, and showing a uniform front in Customs matters to all without it, like the Russian Empire, the United States, etc. But if, for the present at least, the peculiar exigencies of Indian trade and the policy of the self-governing colonies so tie our hands as to offer insuperable obstacles to a Zollverein between all the lands that fly the Union Jack, is it equally impossible to compass a fiscal bond limited to the British Isles and the Crown colonies and dependencies? Our freedom of action not being trammelled in the same manner here, should we not be in a position, with the aid of this partial Customs Union, to grant or withhold favours in one quarter according to the treatment meted out to us in another; thus obtaining better terms than we now do as a number of distinct units, practically almost separate as far as our commercial relations are concerned?

Many such questions present themselves as corollaries to

that of our fiscal position, and some of them may involve consequences of the greatest moment. This is a further reason why we should resolutely set our faces against anything short of a thorough examination of the problem's every aspect, and exact full explanation of each "fact" brought forward; which, by the way, we might otherwise find, on closer acquaintance, not to be a fact at all, or to be one that does not justify the deductions made from it.

Referring specially to Ceylon, I may add that in 1903 (January 1 to December 31), besides 13,636,399 cocoanuts, Ceylon exported 153,735,364 lb. tea, 735,774 cwt. copra, 673,964 cwt. coconut-oil, 486,804 cwt. plumbago, 303,819 cwt. poonac, 284,055 cwt. fibre and coir products, 17,604,646 lb. desiccated cocoanuts, 62,700 cwt. cocoa, 5,395,910 lb. cinnamon, 41,798 cwt. rubber, 14,641 cwt. ornamental woods, 9,827 cwt. coffee, 1,097,702 lb. citronella-oil, 947,467 lb. cardamoms, and 170,565 lb. cinchona. Sir West Ridgeway anticipates that several million pounds of rubber will be shipped annually in a few years, and it is believed that the opening of the Northern Railway will lead to rubber, cotton, and cocoanuts being extensively planted along the line. It may be gathered from Sir West's review of his administration, published as he was leaving the island, and from the reports on the Ceylon Blue-Books, that a greatly increased trade in camphor, pepper, rhea, silk, and vanilla, is improbable. Tobacco might perhaps be turned by tariff reform into one of the colony's staple exports, as it is now one of its chief agricultural products. Not only is the leaf reported to be good already, but "there is every reason to suppose" that "an excellent quality" could be grown; and it is possible that preference might make it worth while to embark upon the radical change in curing requisite to meet extra-insular taste. Amongst other Ceylon products that might be affected by the proposed fiscal policy are

plumbago, also found in Germany, and citronella-oil, which the recent appearance in the market of a Java article, "not in reality so superior" to it, is helping to drive out of existence.

As regards tea, the Indian and Ceylon associations, in their memorial of February 2 to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, repeat that its consumption in the British Isles has diminished owing to the high duty. Far from endorsing the theory that reduced taxation would attract the worst foreign teas to London, moreover, they show that it is present conditions which are doing so. To the manifest detriment of British producers, China teas unfit for consumption, and refused admittance into the United States for this reason, are disposed of in England under cost price, in ever-increasing proportions, and blended with the higher British qualities in order to prevent the consumer from feeling the tax; his palate is being imperceptibly accustomed at the same time, it will be noticed, to stuff that would stand very little chance of ever making headway under any other circumstances. The associations express the belief that increased consumption would follow a reduced duty and the importation of uniformly good tea. Government should secure the latter, they suggest, by enacting standards of quality, and excluding everything that does not come up to them or has been rejected by other countries.

The writer of a communicated article in the *Ceylon Independent* (December 5) says that England, not Ceylon, would benefit under preferential arrangements. Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, on the contrary, maintains that the only return the colony could make for a preference on tea would be to discharge the 1,500 men at the Government factory, and "accept instead our machinery."

The *Morning Leader* (January 14), by the way, is filled with pious horror at the employment of natives in the works at wages proportionate to local conditions, a crime

with which it favourably contrasts the methods of our competitors abroad. True, the factory merely produces for purchasers on the spot, while the foreigner invades our markets ; but why trouble with such distinctions ? Is it not enough that, unlike the people on the Continent who are encouraged to provide us with sweated and prison-made goods, the natives of Ceylon are British subjects, and must therefore on no account be favoured ?

## THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA, AND THE CENSUS OF 1901.

BY G. A. GRIERSON.

ACCORDING to the Census of 1901, the enumerated population of British India amounted to 294,361,056 souls. Advantage was taken of the fact that the Linguistic Survey was at the time in progress to make the language census more widely extended and more complete than on previous occasions, and the result has been that, with the exception of about a million people whose languages were not returned or for some reason could not be traced, we are now able to state definitely that, beside the tongues of temporary sojourners, there are 147 distinct languages (not dialects) spoken in British India by, in round numbers, 293 millions of people. The exact figures are shown in the table on the following page.

For the purposes of the present article we may exclude from the above the Semitic and Hamitic families. These are vernacular only in Aden, a territory politically a part of our Eastern Empire, and should be omitted from consideration when dealing with what are usually looked upon as the languages of India. There remain 143 languages which fall under recognised groups, and two forms of speech which have hitherto defied classification. It is proposed to describe as briefly as possible the habitats and characteristics of these 145 languages.

Two languages of the Malay group are vernacular in British India. These are Selung and Nicobarese. The Selungs are a tribe of sea-gipsies who inhabit the islands of the Mergui Archipelago. The race is an ancient one, and its speech is connected with that of the Chams of Cambodia and with the dialects of the Philippines. Of greater importance is Nicobarese, which, however, is not



	Number of Languages.		Number of Speakers.	
	Of each Group.	Of each Family.	Of each Group.	Of each Family.
Malayo-Polynesian family :				
Malay group ... ..	2		7,831	
Total ... ..		2		7,831
Indo-Chinese family :				
Mōn-Khmēr sub-family ...	4		427,760	
Tibeto-Burman sub-family	79		9,560,454	
Siamese-Chinese sub-family	9		1,724,085	
Total ... ..		92		11,712,299
Mundā family ... ..	10	10	3,179,275	3,179,275
Dravidian family ... ..	14	14	56,514,524	56,514,524
Indo-European family :				
Aryan sub-family :				
Erastian branch ... ..	3		1,377,023	
Indo-Aryan branch ... ..	22		219,780,650	
Total ... ..		25		221,157,673
Semitic family ... ..	1	1	42,881	42,881
Hamitic family ... ..	1	1	5,530	5,530
Unclassed languages :				
Andamanese ... ..	1		1,882	
"Gipsy" languages ... ..	1		344,143	
Others ... ..			125	
Total ... ..		2		346,150
Grand total vernaculars of India	147			292,966,163
Add other languages ... ..				346,670
Languages not returned or not identified				1,048,223
Total population of British India				294,361,056

pure Malay. It has for its foundation an old language, now extinct, of which we find traces in other parts of India. We shall devote a few lines to this ancient language when dealing with the Mōn-Khmēr tongues.

We now come to the four great families to which nearly all the languages of India belong—viz., the Indo-Chinese, the Mundā, the Dravidian, and the Indo-European. These four families, when mutually compared, display in a striking manner the various modes adopted by human speech to express ideas. The Indo-Chinese are monosyllabic and either isolating or agglutinating; the Mundā and the Dravidian are polysyllabic and agglutinating; the Indo-European are polysyllabic and inflecting. To commence

with Indo-Chinese. Here each word consists of one syllable, and refuses to be classed under any of our well-known categories of noun, verb, and particle. It expresses an indefinite idea, which may be employed to express any part of speech, according to its position in the sentence and its relation to its neighbours. Being monosyllables, the necessary paucity of different sounds is eked out by tones, each sound being raised or lowered in pitch, shortened or prolonged, according to the idea which it is intended to express. For instance, the Shan monosyllable *kau* means "I," "be old," "nine," "a lock of hair," "be indifferent to an evil spirit," "an owl," "a *butea*-tree," "complain of," "the shin," "the balsam plant," or "a mill," according to the tone with which it is pronounced. The number of tones differs in various languages. Shan has fifteen, while Western Tibetan is said to have only one. The most characteristic of these languages, Chinese and Siamese, belong to what is known as the isolating class—*i.e.*, every monosyllable has a distinct definite meaning of its own, and complex ideas are formed by compounding two or more together. For instance, "he went" would be indicated by three words, one meaning "he," another connoting the idea of "going," and a third connoting the idea of "completion." Others belong to what is known as the agglutinating class, in which certain words are now only used as suffixes to indicate relationship of time or space, and cannot be employed independently with a meaning of their own. It is as if the word "completion" in "he-going-completion" had lost its original meaning, and was now employed only as a sign to indicate that the idea connoted by some other word performing the function of a verb was also the idea of a completed action.

The original home of the Indo-Chinese race was North-Western China, between the upper courses of the Yang-tse-kiang and of the Ho-ang-ho. From here three successive waves of immigration forced their way into further India and Tibet. In each case the immigrants followed the

courses of the great arterial rivers which watered the country—the Sanpo, its continuation the Brahmaputra, the Chindwin, the Irrawaddy, the Salwin, and so forth. In each case, too, they drove their immediate predecessors to the highlands on each side of the rivers or to the sea-coast, and occupied the valleys themselves, to be, in their turn, ousted by their successors. The first immigrants were the Mōn-Khmērs, the second were the Tibeto-Burmans, and the third were the Tai branch of the Siamese-Chinese. Finally, a fourth, a second Tibeto-Burman invasion (that of the Kachins), was stopped by the English conquest of Upper Burma.

The circumstances of the invasion of the Mōn-Khmērs are lost in the mists of antiquity. Their language was distinct from the other Indo-Chinese ones, and seems to have had no connection with them, but, rather, to have belonged to some other unidentified linguistic family. When, therefore, we class it as Indo-Chinese, we do so on purely geographical and not on linguistic grounds. The Mōn-Khmērs overran Siam, Cambodia, and the north of the Malay Peninsula, as well as Burma and Assam, and everywhere they must have found the country inhabited by an earlier race speaking that extinct language already referred to, which was very widely spread, extending as far west as the centre of India proper, perhaps as far as Berar. Relics of this race are still found among the wild tribes of Malacca. It has been suggested, but not yet proved, that it is also represented at the present day by the great Kōl family of Central India. Arguments have even been advanced that members of this race spread as far as Australia. Without accepting all these propositions, it must be admitted that there is at the bottom of the Mundā languages spoken by the Kōls, of the languages of the Mōn-Khmērs, and of those of the Nicobarese and of the Malacca “Urang Utangs,” a common substratum which, in the case of, at least, the Mōn-Khmērs and the Nicobarese, while displaying clear traces of its existence, has been overlaid

by a language belonging to an entirely different family of speech.

The Mōn-Khmērs of Assam were driven to the hills by their successors the Tibeto-Burmans, and their language now only survives in that locality under the form of Khassi, the interesting tongue of the "Khasi and Jaintia Hills," which for many years, until its affiliation was definitely fixed by Kuhn, was looked upon as an isolated tongue forming a family by itself. In Burma the advancing tide of Tibeto-Burman invasion drove the Mōns to the sea-board, and their language is now heard in Pegu and the coast districts round the Gulf of Martaban. So far as British India is concerned, the only other Mōn-Khmēr languages are Pālaung and Wā, spoken by less than 75,000 people in the eastern hills of Upper Burma. Several other members of the family exist in Annam and Cambodia, though Anamese itself does not seem to be one.

When the Tibeto-Burmans left their original seat, they took at least three distinct routes: one swarm started north-west along the course of the Sanpo, whence it peopled Tibet and the Himalayas; another followed the Brahmaputra, whence it overran Assam; and a third wandered down the valleys of the Salwin and the Irrawaddy into Burma. In Burma and Tibet alone did they succeed in forming stable nationalities. As for Tibetan, it is spoken almost entirely outside British India. We are only brought into immediate contact with it on the Himalayan frontier, and with its extreme western dialects in Baltistan and Ladakh. In these last two localities the speeches are dialects, and nothing more; for Tibetan, owing to its possessing a literature, is a fairly uniform language. In Nepal there are a number of forms of speech, of which the most important is probably Nēwārī, "the language of Nēwār"—*i.e.*, "of Nepal"—that are connected with it by origin. They represent a spill from Tibet over the watershed formed by the Northern Himalayas.

The Assam Tibeto-Burman languages have received considerable attention from local officials; but, as there are more than sixty of them, we know very little about a large proportion. In the hills along the north side of the Brahmaputra Valley there is a series of wild tribes—Akas, Daflas, Abors, Miris, and Mishmis—about whose tongues we are very imperfectly acquainted. Grammars have been compiled of two of these, but as for the others, the accounts given by the few people who have recorded observations are so contradictory that little certain is known about them.

In the lower Assam Valley itself we find the Bodos, who, though surrounded by speakers of Aryan languages, still keep their own tongue in fair preservation. Connected with it, and together forming the Bodo group, are a number of other languages, amongst which we may mention the Gārō of the Garo Hills, and Tipurā of the State of Hill Tipperah. The speakers of the Bodo-group number in all about 600,000 souls.

In the upper part of the Assam Valley and in the Naga Hills there are twenty-six languages belonging to the Nāgā group. Destitute of literatures, and in many cases spoken by savage tribes whose principal occupation in former days seems to have been the collection of their neighbours' heads, there has been little intercommunication, and nearly every village has its own dialect. The most important language is Mikir (83,600 speakers), the headquarters of which are the Mikir Hills in Nowgong. It forms a link between the Bodo group and the true Nāgā languages. A similar set of transition languages is found in the north of the State of Manipur connecting Nāgā with Kuki. The present inhabitants of the Naga Hills, the Angāmis, the Aōs, the Semās, and so forth, seem to have entered their present seats from that State, and to have worked up northwards. The languages found in this tract—a mountainous counterpart of the Plain of Shinar—present many points of interest to the philologist, but are almost unknown except to a few frontier officers, whose business of keeping their

unruly subjects in order gives few opportunities for scientific study. Angāmi is fairly well known, and so are Āō and one or two others; but regarding the rest, even the Linguistic Survey, with all the special means which it had at its command, and with all the willing co-operation of local officials, has been able to collect but scanty materials. To an ordinary Assamese any Nāgā language is simply "Nāgā," and the Census of 1901 has failed to give separate figures for the speeches of this part of India. Out of 250,000 speakers of Nāgā languages 70,000 are shown as "un-classed," and twelve out of the twenty-six language-names find no place in the schedules.

South of the Nāgā languages, extending through the hill-country down to beyond Sandoway in Burma, we have the thirty-one languages of the Kuki-Chin group. Here our knowledge is in much the same condition as in the case of the Nāgā languages. Only fourteen names find a place in the Census schedules, and out of 625,000 speakers 236,000 have been shown as "Kuki-Chin unspecified." The group, however, contains some well-known forms of speech, such as Meithei, the principal language of Manipur; Lushēi, that of the Lushai Hills; and Lai, the main tongue of the centre of the Chin Hills. It may be remarked that, like "Nāgā," "Kuki" and "Chin" are both general terms, applied, according to locality, to all persons inhabiting the hills between Bengal and Burma.

The Nāgā and Kuki-Chin languages are typical examples of pure Tibeto-Burman forms of speech. Like many other languages in a similar stage of civilization, the most striking peculiarity is the want of power to express an abstract idea. The speakers are unable to conceive so simple an idea as "hand," "son," or "man," except in a definite, concrete form. A hand must be somebody's hand; a son must be somebody's son; a man must be a man of some tribe. They have different words for "my hand," "your hand," "his hand," but no word for "hand" generally. Similarly, they have different words for a man of this tribe or of that

tribe, but no word for "man" generally. Again, Lushēi has at least nine or ten words for different kinds of ants, but no word for "ant" generally. The conjugation of the verb is based on similar principles. The verb is never conceived in the abstract, but is always put into relation with some noun or pronoun as the subject. This is effected in exactly the same way as with ordinary nouns by prefixing the possessive pronouns, so that "I go" is expressed by "my going," and "thou wast" by "thy being-completion."

To the west of the Nāgā languages, in the North of Upper Burma, we meet the great Singpho or Kachin tribe, speaking a number of connected languages classed together as the Kachin group. Here, as in the case of Nāgā, almost every hill has a separate dialect.

Finally, we come to the most considerable set of Tibeto-Burman languages—the Burma group (7,500,000 speakers). Of these by far the most important is Burmese, which is the tongue of 7,475,000 people, and is spoken over all the plains portion of Burma south of Bhamo. It and Tibetan are the two literary languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers of both are Buddhists, while those of most of the other members of the family are barbarous pagans. Burmese has many dialects, but one of which, Arakanese, has as yet been honoured by the attention of students.

The Tai or Shām branch of the Siamese-Chinese race entered Upper Burma in force about the sixth century of our era. For many centuries they formed a powerful and stable monarchy, occupying what is now the Kachin and the Shan country. Thence, in one direction, one of their tribes—the Ahoms—conquered Assam, which they held until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the other direction the Shāns overran Siam,\* a country which they still hold, driving their predecessors, the Mōn-Khmērs, to the sea-board provinces of Cambodia and Annam. In Burma they were finally conquered by the Burmese in the

\* The word is but a corruption of "Shām."

eighteenth century, and since then their principal representatives in British India have been the inhabitants of the Shan (*i.e.*, Shām) States. The Tais were a literary people, with a special genius for history. Several of their works in the old dead Ahom language have survived in Assam, and are waiting for the fortunate scholar who can find time and opportunities to edit and translate them.

Another language provisionally classed as a member of the Siamese-Chinese family is the Karen of South Burma. We do not know when the Karens entered the country. The generally-accepted theory regarding their language is that it is connected with Chinese, but not descended from it. Where much is doubtful, it is hardly necessary to state that some good people have identified the Karens with the lost Ten Tribes.

The above concludes our review of the Indo-Chinese languages of British India as revealed by the Census and by the Linguistic Survey. We now turn to the Mundā, or, as they are often called, the Kolarian languages. We have already alluded to the underlying connection which exists between this family and the Mōn-Khmēr, Nicobarese, and other forms of speech, and need not do more than refer to it again. The languages of the Mundā family belong to the agglutinating class. They rival Turkī in the complexity of their forms and in the thoroughness with which the principle of agglutination is carried out. Suffix is piled upon suffix, and then helped out by infix, till we get forms that are rather sentences than words. There is a root, *dal*, meaning "strike," and from this we can form, as an ordinary word of everyday use, *da-pa-l-ochō-akan-tahen-tae-tiñ-a-e*, which means, "He, who belongs to him who belongs to me, will continue letting himself be caused to strike mutually." We should employ this flower, or rather bouquet, of speech if my slave's son was too often getting himself entangled in affrays. Not only *might* we use it, but we should *have* to do so if we had the temerity to mention the fact.



The Mundā languages contain one main group, which we may call Khērwarī, and which includes all the most important, including Santālī (1,791,000) and Kōl (949,000). These are spoken in the hill-country of Western Bengal. South of this, through Orissa and further, there are some other less closely-connected members of the family, and there is yet one more, Kūrkū, spoken far to the west in the Pachmarhi Hills and in the Betul District of the Central Provinces.

The main habitat of the Dravidian family is at the present day, and speaking roughly, India south of the Narbada Valley and east of the Bombay Presidency. In ancient times the Dravidians certainly extended further to the North-West, perhaps even into Baluchistan, where a tribe, the Brāhūī, which speaks a Dravidian language, still exists. In the North-West the remainder were conquered and absorbed by the Aryan invaders, on whom they have left an ethnic impress, and now, with the exception of Brāhūī, their languages are practically confined to the Deccan. These languages fall into two groups, the Dravidian languages proper and the Andhra languages. This was the division made centuries ago by Sanskrit writers, and it holds good to-day. Brāhūī falls out of this classification as an independent form of speech, and, on the other hand, the dialects of the Gōnds and other forest tribes of Central India are a connecting-link between the two. We thus obtain the following list of Dravidian languages, together with the figures of the 1901 Census :

				Number of Speakers.
A. Dravida group :				
Tamil	...	...	...	16,525,500
Malayālam	...	...	...	6,029,304
Kanārese	...	...	...	10,365,047
Kodagu	...	...	...	39,191
Tulu	...	...	...	535,210
Toda	...	...	...	805
Kota	...	...	...	1,300
Kurukh	...	...	...	591,886
Malhar	...	...	...	465
Malto	...	...	...	60,777

				Number of Speakers.
B. Intermediate languages :				
Gōnd, etc.	...	...	...	1,123,974
C. Andhra group.				
Telugu	...	...	...	20,696,872
Kandh	...	...	...	494,099
Kōlamī	...	...	...	1,505
D. Brāhūī	...	..	...	48,589
Total				56,514,524

The first three of these are well known, and so is Telugu. Limits of space will not allow me to do more than mention their names. Kodagu is the language of Coorg, and Tulu that of the neighbouring parts of South Canara. Toda and Kota are spoken by uncivilized tribes of the Nilgiris. Kurukh and Malto are two closely-connected languages which have worked north-west into Chota Nagpur, and even as far as Rajmahal on the Ganges. Kurukh is often called "Orāon." Malhar seems to be a variant of Kurukh, and is found in Orissa. Gōnd requires no explanation. Kandh is the speech of the "Khonds" of Orissa, while Kōlamī is employed by a tribe in Berar. The last-named is an intermediate form of speech, but is more closely connected with Telugu than is Gōnd.

The Aryan languages of India fall into two main branches, the Eranian and the Indo-Aryan. The former belong to the so-called "Medic" or "Eastern" group of Eranian tongues descended from the language of the Avesta rather than from the old Persian of the Achæmenides. The most important are Balōch, with its dialect Makrānī, and Pashtō. The number of speakers of Balōch recorded at the Census was 152,188, but this only relates to the neighbourhood of Quetta. The rest of Baluchistan was left untouched by the Census operations. Pashtō, the language of Afghanistan, both British and independent, is returned as the tongue of 1,224,807 people in British India. The number of speakers beyond the British frontier is unknown, but has been estimated at about 2,360,000. In Waziristan, in the

heart of the Pashtō country, we find a small colony employing an isolated speech known as Ōrmurī, related to Pashtō, but in some respects agreeing with the Kāfir languages, and with the Eranian tongues of the Pamirs. The last are known as the Ghalchāh group. Only one of them, Yūdghā, has crossed the Hindu Kush, and is spoken in the Chitral country, to which, however, the Census did not extend. The others are Munjānī, Ishkāshamī, Wakhī, Shighnī, and Sariqōlī. A few visitors speaking Munjānī and Wakhī appear in the tables. Yūdghā is itself a dialect of Munjānī.

Most of the ancestors of the present Indo-Aryans entered India through the Kabul Valley. The invasion was a long process covering centuries, and the language spoken by the latest arrivals must have differed considerably from that spoken by the earliest ones. In course of time these immigrants populated the whole of the Panjāb, which thus became covered by an Aryan nation consisting of several tribes, speaking a number of dialects, some of which were so different from the others that those who used one called others who were at a distance "barbarians." With the development of the Aryan community, the dialect of the tribes which were settled on the banks of the river Saraswatī, in the Eastern Panjāb, developed into what is now known as Sanskrit. Owing to political reasons, this became the literary and religious language of the Indo-Aryans, while the dialects of the rest of the Panjāb, though no doubt influenced by the literary language, also developed on their own lines. In the meantime another swarm of Aryan invaders had entered India, not by the Kabul Valley, but over the Hindu Kush and down the Gilgit and Chitral Valleys. These entered the Panjāb and settled among their cousins, whom they found already there. Where they took up their actual abode is not known, but it is probable that they forced their way to the Saraswatī, and that it is their dialect which ultimately became Sanskrit. They left behind them, in the Gilgit and Chitral Valleys,

and in Kafiristan, members of their tribes who settled there, and whose language remained uninfluenced by the Sanskrit of the Eastern Panjāb. We thus find ourselves, towards the end of this epoch, in the presence of the following state of affairs: In the Eastern Panjāb there was a powerful Aryan tribe speaking a language which gradually took a literary form. To its west and south were other Aryan tribes speaking, not the same dialect, but cognate dialects which were subject to its influence. The southern members of the latter set of Indo-Aryans spread south and east, keeping south of the Jumna and the Ganges till we come to about the longitude of the modern Benares, where they crossed the Ganges and occupied the districts east of that degree, so that they covered the whole of the present Benares and Patna divisions. The settlers in the Eastern Panjāb also extended. They occupied the Gangetic Doab and, crossing the Ganges where it runs north and south, the country as far east as, say, the modern Oudh. Oudh itself became a sort of debatable ground between the two sets of Aryans. We thus see that the former set made a kind of semicircle round the latter, encompassing them on the west, south, and east. The latter, whom we may call the Inner Indo-Aryans, had to expand still more, and they did so. They overspread the Panjāb westwards as far as the Jhelum, and southwards they covered the modern Rajputana and Gujarat as far as the sea, thus breaking the continuity of the outer encircling band. They did not, however, drive out all the former Aryan inhabitants. They amalgamated with them, or, rather, absorbed those who had not fled still further south before them, and the language of these three tracts became a mixture of the two sets of dialects.

It is not pretended that events occurred in the exact order above suggested, but the circumstances must have been very similar to what has been described. The centre of the Hindu religion, based on Vedic and Sanskrit literature, was first the Saraswatī, near the modern Ambala,

and subsequently the Gangetic Doab. The political expansion of the great kingdom of Kanauj well illustrates the manner in which the language of the Inner Indo-Aryans spread and superseded that of their Outer cousins to the south and west.

The above account is also well illustrated by the present condition of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. There is an Inner group of languages, of which the purest and most typical example is Western Hindī, directly derived as a vernacular from that dialect from which classical Sanskrit was also sprung. There is also an Outer band, commencing in Kashmir and running down the Western Panjāb into Sindh. It is broken in Gujarat, but leaping over that province, it is continued across India eastwards under the form of Marāthī. Then it turns north again and covers Behar, Bengal, Orissa, and Assam. Between this Inner Western Hindī and this Outer band there is an intermediate band of mixed dialects occupying the Central Panjāb, Gujarat, Rajputana, and Oudh. In the first three localities, even in distant Gujarat, the Inner language has obtained the mastery, and we only see traces (varying in number and prominence according to the distance from the centre) of the original Outer languages. In Oudh, on the contrary, the two languages, the Inner and the Outer, are combined in fairly equal proportions.

At the same time it must be borne in mind that all these languages have been profoundly influenced by the literary sway of Sanskrit—a sway exercised with all the prestige of the Brāhmans. In the North-West, in Chitral and the neighbourhood, this influence was non-existent, and we thus arrive at our first great division of Indo-Aryan languages into those that are Non-Sanskritic and those that are Sanskritic. The latter fall into two main classes, the Inner language and the Outer band, while there are also two intermediate groups—one, a Western and Southern, which most nearly agrees with the Inner lan-

guage, and one an Eastern, which is a compound of both, and which I call the Mediate language. We thus arrive at the following classified list of Indo-Aryan languages :

A. NON-SANSKRITIC.

Number of Speakers recorded in 1901.

1. Shīnā ... ..	54,192
2. Khōwār ... ..	233
3 to 11. Kāfir languages, and connected ... ..	—
	<hr/> 54,425

B. SANSKRITIC.

A. Outer Languages :

I. North-Western Group.

1. Kāshmīrī ... ..	1,007,957
2. Kōhistānī ... ..	36
3. Lahndā ... ..	3,337,917
4. Sindhī ... ..	3,006,395
	<hr/> 7,352,305

II. Southern Group.

5. Marāthī ... ..	18,237,899
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III. Eastern Group.

6. Oriyā ... ..	9,687,429
7. Bihārī ... ..	34,579,844
8. Bengali ... ..	44,624,048
9. Assamese ... ..	1,350,846
	<hr/> 90,242,167

B. Intermediate Languages :

I. Mediate Language.

10. Eastern Hindi ... ..	22,136,358
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II. Connected with the Inner Language.

11. Panjābī ... ..	17,070,961
12. Gujarātī ... ..	9,928,501
13. Rājasthānī ... ..	10,917,712
14. Western Pahārī ... ..	1,710,029
15. Central Pahārī ... ..	1,270,931
16. Eastern Pahārī ... ..	143,721
	<hr/> 41,041,855

C. Inner Language :

17. Western Hindi ... ..	40,714,925
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D. Add some people who returned themselves as speaking Sanskrit ... ..

716

Total number of speakers of Indo-

Aryan languages ... .. 219,780,650

Of the above, Marāthī and Eastern Hindī are groups of dialects, not of languages. The various Pahārī dialects are the many Indo-Aryan forms of speech found in the Himalayas, grouped, for convenience' sake, according to locality from west to east. We shall now deal with these languages in the order of the foregoing list.

The only Non-Sanskritic language which is fairly represented in the Census is Shīnā, the language of the country round Gilgit. Khōwār, the language of Chitral, appears as spoken by some visitors to Kashmir and elsewhere, no enumeration having been made in the Chitral country. The other Non-Sanskritic languages include those of Kafirstan, which lies outside British India, and Kalāshā, Gawarbatī, and Pashai. Kalāshā and Gawarbatī are spoken in the Chitral country, and Pashai in Laghman of Afghanistan. These three are closely related to the Kāfir languages.

These Non-Sanskritic languages possess many points of interest. In the first place, the ancestors of their speakers must have descended from the Pamirs after some of the characteristics of Eranian (as distinct from Indo-Aryan) speech had developed in their language; for their tongues at the present day, though certainly in the main Indo-Aryan, show striking points of agreement with the Ghalchah languages to their immediate north. They once extended at least as far south as Kashmir, for, although the Kashmīrī language is a thoroughly Sanskritic one, there is nevertheless at its bottom a layer of Shīnā. Kashmīrī tradition itself admits that the valley was once inhabited by a tribe known as "Pisāchas," and research on independent lines has shown that the Non-Sanskritic languages were known to mediæval Sanskrit writers as "Paisāchī." Furthermore, it is most probable that the Indian language spoken by our gipsies before they migrated to Persia on their way to Europe was this very "Paisāchī."

Turning to the Sanskritic languages, these are nearly all well known, and very brief remarks must suffice. If lan-

guage is to be taken as the test, Kashmīrī is the tongue of immigrants from India who conquered and absorbed the old Shīnā inhabitants, and this, as we have just seen, is borne out by local tradition. Kōhistānī is the language of the independent hill-country north of Hazara and Peshawar, in which no census was taken. The few speakers recorded were visitors elsewhere. Lahndā is the language of the Panjāb west of, say, the Lahore district. It is closely connected with Kashmīrī and Sindhī, and has very little to do with Panjābī. Most of the little that is common to the two belongs to Lahndā, not to Panjābī. Lahndā has passed under various names, such as Mūltānī, Jatkī, Hindkī, and so forth. The people of the Eastern Panjāb call it "Lahndēdī bōlī," or the language of the West, and this accounts for the adoption of "Lahndā" by the Linguistic Survey. The name is admittedly a bad one, but it is difficult to suggest a better. Lahndā has two dialects—one spoken north of the Salt Range, and the other to its south. It has numerous sub-dialects. Sindhī is too well known to call for any special remarks.

Marāthī is a language possessing a somewhat independent character. Although certainly belonging to the Outer band, it does not show any traces of a close connection with Sindhī or Lahndā. On the contrary, its nearest relative is the Mediate language—Eastern Hindī—and with this it shows a marked tendency to agree with the Outer languages of Eastern India—Bihārī, Oriyā, and so forth. It has only one important dialect, the Kōnkanī, spoken in the neighbourhood of Goa, and elsewhere it is very fairly uniform over the whole area which it occupies. It stretches more than two-thirds of the way across India. Immediately to its east lie Dravidian languages, and then, towards the north, Halbī, a mongrel dialect—a mixture of Marāthī and Eastern Hindī spoken by Dravidian tribes who have abandoned their own language. Beyond this lies Oriyā.

Oriyā, Bihārī, Bengali, and Assamese are all well known. Bihārī is spoken in Bihar, in Chhota Nagpur, and in the



east of the United Provinces up to about Benares. At the centre of its area is the great city of Patna, south of which lies the ancient province of Magadha, the birth-land of Buddhism. The old language of Magadha spread in three lines—east through Northern Bengal into Assam, south-east into Bengal proper, and south into Orissa, thus becoming the parent of the four languages of the eastern group.

Immediately to the west of Bihārī lies the great Mediate language, Eastern Hindī, its basis being a language of the Outer band, which has been strongly influenced by Inner forms of speech. It is the tongue of Oudh, of Baghelkhand, and of Chhattisgarh in the Central Provinces. In its earliest form it was the language of the Jain scriptures, and in later years, owing to its employment by one of India's greatest poets, Tulsī Dās, it has become the only language of Hindostan proper in which heroic poetry is composed. It has an enormous literature, some of which is of great value from every point of view, and its study is necessary to everyone who desires to be brought into communion with the genius of Northern India.

To the west of Eastern Hindī there is a long but comparatively narrow strip of country, extending from the lower ranges of the Himalaya to the Narbada, and from, say, Cawnpore on the east to, say, Jaipur on the west. This tract, which includes the Imperial city of Delhi, is the home of Western Hindī. It comprises the greater part of the ancient *Madhya-dēśa*, or "Middle Country," and is the Holy Land of Hinduism. It was in this country that Classical Sanskrit took its birth, and its vernacular at the present day is the direct descendant of that ancient Indian dialect of which Sanskrit represents a stage of arrested development. One of its dialects, that spoken immediately to the north of Delhi, became, through the influence of the Imperial Court, of the Imperial army, and of the Imperial revenue officials, the great *lingua franca* of India—Hindōstānī—understood and spoken as a second

language everywhere, but nowhere a vernacular except in the small area of the upper Gangetic Doab and its neighbourhood.

To the west of Western Hindī we come upon the second set of languages intermediate between the Inner language and the Outer band. To the north-west we have Panjābi, and to the south-west, first Rājasthānī, spoken in Rajputana, and then Gujarātī. Here the language in each case once belonged to the Outer band, but the expansion of the Inner language has overwhelmed it, and we must now group these composite speeches as near relations of Western Hindī. As we go further and further from the latter, we see the power of the central wave losing its force, and traces of the submerged original speech of the country becoming more and more evident.

The last-recognised Indo-Aryan languages with which we have to deal are the hill dialects spoken from Jammu, in the Panjāb, to Nepal. These require little more than naming. They are all sprung from Rājasthānī, and are the languages of people whose ancestors came from Rajputana in historic times. Pending further examination, they are all called "Pahārī," and are conventionally divided into three languages—a Western (north of the Panjāb), a Central (in Jaunsar, Garhwal, and Kumaon), and an Eastern (in Nepal). The Eastern is the language often loosely called Naipālī—a bad name, for it is not the chief language of Nepal. *That* is Nēwārī, the name of which is only another form of "Naipālī."

There remain to be considered a few unclassified Indian languages. The first of these, Andamanese, is the language of the wild tribes who inhabit the islands round Port Blair. There are numerous dialects or, possibly, languages. They are all agglutinative, making free use of prefix, infix, and suffix, and are adapted only to the expression of the simplest concrete ideas. Abstract ideas are almost beyond their power of connotation, and under all circumstances meaning is eked out by the free use of gesture.

Right across the Indian continent, in the extreme North-West, we find Burushaski or Khajuna, about which, thanks to the labours of the late Dr. Leitner and Colonel Biddulph, we have a good deal of information. What is *not* known is how it should be classed. The language is the despair of comparative philologists.

Finally, there are so-called "Gipsy" dialects. These have no connection with European Romany. All are mongrel secret languages. Some are mere thieves' slang, while in others an artificial element has been superadded with considerable ingenuity. They are spoken by wandering tribes in many parts of India, the members of which are too often professional criminals. Their study may repay the anthropologist, but will render little service to the student of philology.

## THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES BILL OF 1903.

BY J. KENNEDY, I.C.S.

THE Universities Bill of 1903 marks an important stage in the history of higher education in India, and to some extent it reverses the policy which has hitherto prevailed. Hitherto the Indian Universities have been examining Boards, their senates have been large and unwieldy, and their standards low. The present Bill contemplates the establishment of a teaching University, reconstitutes the senates—giving them extensive powers of supervision over the affiliated colleges—and it contemplates the gradual conversion of these colleges into residential communities. For the type of the London University, we are presented with the ideals of Oxford and Cambridge. We ask ourselves, How has this revolution come about? what classes will it most affect? what will be the probable results?

Two distinct systems of higher education have existed in India side by side throughout the nineteenth century—the indigenous and the Governmental. The indigenous schools, whether Mohammedan or Hindu, have always had certain common features: they have always been shy of Government interference; they are mainly theological, and they are unprogressive; they are open to the poorest, their income coming partly from endowments, but more frequently from subscriptions and alms; above all, the teachers and their pupils live in the closest intercourse. Some of these schools have a large number of scholars, they bestow titles for diplomas, and the teachers are often men who have made a considerable pecuniary sacrifice for the love of learning and religion. Here, then, we have the Oriental ideal, in which learning is regarded as the free birthright of every man, and education means the intercourse of the disciple with his master.

In contrast with these indigenous schools are the

five Indian Universities, with their 191 colleges and 23,000 students. They follow totally different objects by totally different methods. The Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, modelled upon the pattern of the London University, exist solely for the purposes of examination, and although the Universities of Lahore and Allahabad, founded in 1882 and 1887 respectively, have more extensive powers, they have not availed themselves of them. The colleges affiliated to these Universities are of every kind. Some of them are Government institutions; others are aided by Government and open to Government inspection; others are under no kind of supervision. Few of them have been founded purely for the sake of pecuniary profit, but the competition for students is so keen that the unaided colleges are sometimes accused of underselling each other. The result is that the fees charged are unnecessarily low, and the income is inadequate for the maintenance of a proper staff of lecturers. The students are frequently masters of the situation, discipline is lax, and if one college displeases them they promptly migrate to another. Indeed, attendance at college lectures is quite unnecessary, for a University degree is open to anyone who can answer the examination papers and pay the fees. And to make the confusion more complete, there is no division of areas among the Universities, so that a college of the United Provinces may attach itself at pleasure to Calcutta or Lahore.

But the existing system is undoubtedly popular. It has two great advantages. In the first place, it is so cheap that a University career is open to the poorest. "The average fee realized at the twenty-one unaided colleges in Bengal was, in 1900-1901, Rs. 43.0.4, a sum which is about equal to the cost of education of a boy at an elementary Board school in England." And, secondly, a University degree of some kind is a necessary qualification for the two careers to which Indian youths aspire—Government service and the Bar. Formerly the higher grades of Government servants were largely recruited from a limited number of

families in which the methods of administration had become traditional, and officials of the older school are often sceptical as to whether mere intelligence and facility in passing examinations will prove an efficient substitute for inherited character. But the change has been made, and the Universities are the seminaries of the new candidates. Government appointments, however, are comparatively few, and the majority of students look forward to employment at the Bar. Since every Indian peasant has a grievance, and lawsuits have taken the place of private war, and the technicalities of procedure have created a demand for professional lawyers, the rush of students to the Bar is paralleled only by the crowd who resorted to the law schools of Bologna in the Middle Ages, or to the schools of legal rhetoric in the Roman Empire. And for all these students a University degree is the passport which gives them access to this career.

On the other hand, this popularity is more than counterbalanced by grave disadvantages, political and educational. The very cheapness of the curriculum, and the great prizes to which it may lead, have tempted far more aspirants than can possibly find employment. Hence a mass of discontented graduates, who discover too late that they have wasted their youth in a career which leads to nothing, or, at least, to nothing answering to their expectations. But if the number of unemployed graduates is great, the number of those who fail to pass the examinations is immensely greater. In the Punjab and Bengal only one in two, and in Madras only one in five, of the candidates managed to pass even for matriculation in 1901. Discontented with the wisdom of their forefathers, ill instructed in the learning of the West, puffed up with a little knowledge, unassimilated though it be, and disappointed in their expectations, these failed F.A.'s and B.A.'s are at once the victims of our present methods and the despair of their friends. Politically, perhaps, they are insignificant, but they are a public nuisance.

The failure of the existing system is even more marked when we regard it from the educational standpoint. The Universities were founded in order to encourage the study of Western learning through the medium of English. A competent knowledge of spoken English is therefore an essential preliminary to all University education.

But it is found that a great number of those who enter the colleges are unable to follow a course of spoken English lectures; they have no acquaintance with the living language, and they are unable to cope with the double difficulty of an unknown subject and an unknown tongue. The result is that Indian students have to attend an inordinate number of lectures. It is said that a Scottish student attends some 700, and an Indian student 3,000, lectures during his University career. And this defective knowledge of English is accompanied by a still greater evil. The passing of examinations being the sole object of the student, and the lecturer being dependent on his success in passing pupils, the whole business of education has degenerated into a system of cram. The prescribed text-books are not the main objects of study, and no one dreams of going beyond them; keys, analyses, and notes of lectures, take their place, and are committed with little intelligence to memory. The training of a single faculty has taken the place of the training of the intellect.

These are the obvious defects of the present system, but they are not the chief. The training of the intellect is only a part of the work of education; its true vocation is the training of character at an age when character is most susceptible to personal influence. It has been a question ever since the days of Socrates whether the teacher or the book is the most powerful agent for this purpose. The Greeks and Orientals have always answered it in one way. A contrary opinion prevailed in England in the middle of the nineteenth century; the only true University was held to be the world of books, and in this belief the Indian Universities were founded. The swing of the pendulum

has now brought Englishmen to the opposite opinion, and with it the best Indian opinion coincides. The Moham-medan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh, founded by Sir Syad Ahmad in imitation of Trinity College, Cambridge, although not the sole, is, perhaps, the most striking example of the results of the residential system. This residential system—the close and intimate connection of the under-graduates with their professors—is in the opinion of many the best panacea for the present ills of University education. And it is the opinion of the Government of India.

But although this be the ideal, it is an ideal incapable of immediate achievement ; it requires a gradual transformation of the colleges. The Indian Universities Bill provides the machinery. Its purpose is to bring the Universities and the colleges into an organic unity, to enlarge the sphere of the Universities' influence, and to substitute a common life and common purpose for mere contact through the examination board. And it proposes to do so (1) by reconstituting the senates, and (2) by giving them very extensive powers of supervision over the colleges.

The existing senates of the older Universities are cumbersome and unwieldy ; they have over 200 (in Bombay over 300) members, and as the Fellowships have come to be regarded as an honour rather than a trust, the compliment has been conferred from very various grounds on many who have little knowledge of, or interest in, matters educational. The consequence is that the majority of Fellows do not attend unless an appointment is to be made, or there is some question for discussion which has excited public feeling. The Universities of Allahabad and Lahore do not suffer in this way, but they are encumbered with an undue representation of the official element. All the Universities have a minimum, but not a fixed maximum, of Fellows, and the Fellows, once appointed, hold their appointments for life.

The Bill provides that for the future the senates shall consist of ten ex-officio and 100 (or in the case of Allahabad and Lahore of 75) ordinary members. These



ordinary members hold office for five years only, and if they fail to attend the meetings of the senate for a year they forfeit their appointments. In Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay the graduates of a certain rank have the privilege of electing ten of the ordinary fellows, ten more are nominated by the faculties, the Chancellor nominates the rest. The provisions for Allahabad and Lahore are slightly different, and the privilege of electing Fellows has not as yet been extended to their graduates.

The executive power of the senate is vested in the syndicate. This syndicate is to consist of the Vice-Chancellor, the Director of Public Instruction, and a body of nine to fifteen Fellows elected by the senate, and holding office for two years. It is expressly provided that at least one-half of the syndicate must consist of the Heads or Professors of affiliated colleges. The decisions of the syndicate are submitted to the senate, and matters of importance require the confirmation of the local Government. Several sections of the Bill provide for the period of transition from the old senates to the new, and the privileges of the existing Fellows are now made honorary privileges only; they will no longer have any voice in the work of the senate. Honorary Fellows will continue to be appointed in future without any limitation of their numbers.

The reconstitution of the senates would be of little avail if their powers were not greatly enlarged. In the first place, it is provided that all students shall, except in a few rare cases, pass through one of the affiliated colleges; a collegiate training is to be a necessary part of a University career. And, next, the University is to exercise a very real supervision over its affiliated colleges. In order to obtain or retain the privilege of affiliation, the teaching staff of the college must be properly qualified, the fees suitable, the buildings commodious; proper arrangements must be made for the residence of the students in a hostel, and, if possible, the college staff is to reside in the immediate neighbourhood; in short, the residential system is to be introduced

if possible. The University will supervise the education and discipline, and to some extent the finance, of its subordinate colleges. Proposals for the affiliation of new colleges, and the disaffiliation of inefficient ones, must be sanctioned by the senate and confirmed by the local Government. The University is to have control over all the colleges in its territorial area ; there is to be no overlapping of different Universities. Other sections of the Bill provide for the establishment of colleges and lecture-ships in direct connection with the University, more especially for the purpose of post-graduate study ; and the Government has promised to grant the Universities five lakhs per annum for five years to enable them to carry out this portion of the scheme.

The obvious results of the Bill, when put into execution, will be to raise the standard of education and to diminish the number of students. The management of the Universities is to be controlled in the main by educational experts ; they will form at least half, if not the majority, of the members of the syndicate. The Government control remains unchanged, but the official element is diminished. A good deal must depend upon the representative character of the senate and the syndicate, and it is to be hoped that due provision may be made for the more struggling class of colleges. Since they will be the most affected, they ought to have ample opportunities for becoming acquainted with the dominant principles of the reform, and of pleading their cause in the senate as well as before the Government. Efficiency is very largely a question of money, and, as the first desideratum is to make the lower colleges more efficient, these colleges must raise their fees, thereby diminishing the number of their students. But if the fees of the poorer colleges are raised, and the charges of the Government colleges remain fixed, the bulk of the students will naturally gravitate to the latter, and the aided and unaided colleges will suffer doubly. It is for many reasons undesirable that the Government colleges should have a

monopoly of the higher education, and it will be the business of the senate and of Government to deal carefully with the relations between the different competitors.

So far as the general public is concerned, the proposed changes ought to work for good. The present charges are so inadequate, and so much below the means of the classes who seek a University career, that no just objection can be taken to the raising of the fees.

The Universities have been founded neither from religious motives, like the indigenous schools, nor for the encouragement of pure learning; they have been established partly in the interests of Government, partly as a preparation for certain lucrative careers, and there is no reason why those who profit by them should not pay adequately for them. For meritorious poverty some special provision can be made by means of scholarships; and if these measures lead to a diminution in the number of students, that is scarcely to be regarded as an evil, in some provinces at least.

Perhaps a greater difficulty will arise in the gap which must intervene between the colleges and the majority of schools, if the college standard is to be greatly raised. Students are unable to profit by the college lectures because they have been inefficiently taught at school. The teaching of English in the schools must always be in the main the work of natives, and the native teachers themselves are too frequently inefficient; their knowledge of written, and much more of spoken, English is imperfect. Here, too, the natural tendency will be to divert the stream of scholars into Government schools, or at least to schools taught by a European headmaster. Such schools are to be found at comparatively few centres, and they are not sufficient to meet the demand for English education. English is fast becoming the *lingua franca* of the cultured classes, as well as an essential requisite in every department of business and administration. If the quality of the instruction is to be improved, it will be necessary to raise the position of

the teacher. The Universities must arrange for his special training, and the Government and the public must improve his prospects and his pay. The ordinary teacher is rarely contented with his lot ; he tries to make his position the stepping-stone to a Government appointment, or he resigns himself to a hopeless and discontented obscurity. He is himself too often one of the failures of the University system. And it may be securely predicted that the ideal of University education will never be attained as long as the position of the schoolmaster remains unreformed.

## MADRAS IRRIGATION AND INDIAN IRRIGATION POLICY.

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### I.

It is impossible to deal adequately in a single paper with the whole subject of Madras irrigation, its origin, development, and possible future extension. It is therefore necessary to select certain portions of the subject for special attention. The existing irrigation works will be described very briefly, in order that proposed works and the reasons which make their construction advisable or imperative may be discussed more fully. This is of special interest at the present time, when India is anxiously awaiting the decision of the Government on the recommendations of the Indian Irrigation Commission, which was appointed in 1901 to investigate the utility of irrigation as a protection against famine, the extent to which it has been provided, and the scope which exists for its further extension. This Commission, of which Sir Colin C. Scott-Moncrieff was President, visited all parts of India (including Native States) which are liable to famine, and presented a most valuable and complete report, which was published last year and will be frequently referred to in this paper.

“Excluding Native States, the area of the Madras Presidency is about 141,700 square miles, of which 29,600 are occupied by zemindari and proprietary estates, and the remainder, where occupied, is under *rayatwari* tenure. The cultivable area is estimated at  $36\frac{1}{2}$  million acres, of which  $30\frac{1}{4}$  millions are occupied, and  $24\frac{1}{2}$  millions annually cultivated. Including second crops, the average cultivation may be taken at about 26 million acres.

“Owing to the physical features of the country and its situation between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal,

there is a considerable variety of climate. The rainy season lasts for about seven months—June to December—the first four months being known as the south-west and the last three as the north-east monsoon season. Notwithstanding this double season, the greater part of the country is very badly watered. The rainfall is not only badly distributed, but one or both monsoons may be weak. The north-east monsoon is proverbially uncertain. The four northern districts depend chiefly on the south-west monsoon, but unless it is a strong one it may carry but little moisture across the peninsula. Further south, where the Western Ghâts are higher, they cause the precipitation, during the south-west monsoon, of the greater part of the moisture on their western slopes, and in general the precipitation decreases from the hills eastwards. During the north-east monsoon there is less rainfall inland than on the coast, and not very much on the coast, except from the south of the Kistna Delta to the southern extremity of the Cauvery Delta. The central districts between the Western Ghâts and the east coast districts and the two southernmost districts fare badly in both monsoons.” Except the west coast districts, the deltas of the Godaveri, Kistna, Penner, and Cauvery, and smaller areas elsewhere, especially on streams rising in the Western Ghâts, there is no part of the Presidency really secure from famine, and the most insecure parts of all are the tableland between the Western and Eastern Ghâts and the country lying along the foot of the Eastern Ghâts from the Kistna River southwards.

Irrigation was practised at a very early period, but one cannot say at what time rulers or people became sufficiently civilized to construct works of any importance. It is beyond the scope of this paper to trace the history of the old irrigation works. Suffice it to say that, with the few added since the British occupation of the country, these minor works number over 40,000 in the portion of the country under *rayatwari* settlement alone, and comprise weirs across all the smaller rivers and streams, with channels and tanks

in connection with them, and a vast multitude of tanks formed by dams across the valleys, and irrigating anything from a few acres up to several thousands. Except where, as on the west coast, artificial irrigation is not needed, a few other places where the rainfall was ordinarily found sufficient to mature crops, and in certain parts where the physical features of the country make irrigation works too costly to be remunerative, there is not now a stream where any of the ordinary flow can be intercepted without injury to vested interests. For a good many years past all irrigation projects have necessarily included reservoirs for the storage of flood-water. Many of the old works are admirably designed for their purpose, and skilfully and solidly built. Up to a certain point the Indian engineers were successful, but they never learned to build in the sandy beds of the great rivers. It was reserved for Sir Arthur Cotton to show how this could be done simply, quickly, inexpensively, with local labour and materials, and without any expensive pumping apparatus. The construction of the Upper Coleroon Anicut\* is the clearest proof of his genius. The general principles on which weirs in sandy rivers should be designed having been laid down and proved correct, it only remained to apply them with such modifications as local circumstances required.

The Lower Coleroon Anicut was built at nearly the same time as the Upper Anicut. After an interval came the Godaveri and Kistna Anicuts, and later the Sangam Anicut on the Penner, and a number of smaller works elsewhere. The principal reservoirs constructed during recent years are two on the Rushikulya for the protection of a large tract in Ganjam, the Kanigiri Reservoir, supplied from the Sangam Anicut on the Penner, and the Periyar Reservoir. Many of the old irrigation systems have also

\* Not to be confounded with the Grand Anicut (a corruption of *Kal anai* = stone dam), an old work which originally consisted of a mass of rough stone thrown across the channel between the Cauvery and Coleroon at the lower end of Seringham Island, in order to prevent the Cauvery water running into the Coleroon. It is merely a surplus escape.

been extended and improved. To show what progress has been made, it will be convenient to take the classification of works adopted by the Irrigation Commission.\* The works are divided into two principal classes. "The first includes all the more important works which have been constructed, restored, enlarged, or extended by the British Government within the last century. The second class includes all the smaller tanks and river channels which are scattered all over the Presidency, and many of which have existed from time immemorial." There are thirty works in the first class. On these the capital outlay was 808 lakhs, and the average area irrigated in the five years ending 1900-1901 was 3,293,000 (since increased to probably  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions). This area includes old irrigation, chiefly in the Cauvery Delta. The new irrigation was estimated at 2,065,000 acres—not a bad record.

In the second class there are no less than 40,000 works, of which nearly 35,000 are in charge of Government departments, and maintained at the cost of Government. The area irrigated varies a good deal according to the season, but averaged during the three years ending 1900-1901 3,117,000 acres. The above figures include second crops. If the area of land only be considered, it may be said that there are 3,000,000 acres in the first class and 2,300,000 in the second.

In view of the impossibility of extending flow irrigation to any great extent, except in a few districts, the encouragement of well-irrigation is of very great importance. The following extracts from the Report of the Irrigation Commission (Part II., pp. 120, 121) show in a striking manner the results of the policy of the Madras Government of permanently exempting improvements from taxation, a policy not yet adopted in any other province except Bombay.

"Wells in Madras are divided into two classes: wells sunk in lands held on dry assessment, and those sunk in wet lands, or lands classed as wet,

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\* Report, Part II., pp. 93, 95.



under Government sources of irrigation. The former are termed *ayakat* wells, because the *ayakat*, or area attached to them, is dependent for its irrigation solely on the well-supply, and not upon any other source; the latter are called 'supplemental,' because their main function is to supplement the irrigation from Government works whenever the supply in them fails owing to deficient rainfall or other causes. Lands irrigated by *ayakat* wells are permanently exempted from additional assessment on account of such irrigation; but, in the case of supplemental wells, the lands benefited by them are liable to pay the full wet assessment fixed upon them, except in seasons when there is no supply whatever in the Government works, and the lands dependent on them are cultivated solely with the aid of well-water. On such occasions only the dry assessment is charged. . . .

"Excluding *kuchha*, or temporary wells, which are few, the number of *ayakat* wells returned for 1900-1901 for *rayatwari* tracts alone amounted to about 470,000, and the area irrigated to nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million acres, first and second crop. Compared with 1891-1892, there has been an increase of over 170,500, or 57 per cent., in the number of wells, and of about 469,000 acres, or 46 per cent., in the area irrigated. During the same period the number of supplemental wells has increased from 134,300 to 141,800, or by 9.5 per cent. . . .

"The great development which well-irrigation has attained in the Madras Presidency has unquestionably been largely assisted by the liberal policy which has been pursued during more than half a century in regard to the exemption of private improvements from additional taxation. The principle of leaving to the rayat the full benefit accruing from improvements effected by his own industry and means was first advocated by Sir Thomas Munro at a very early period of his career; but it was not until 1852 that his recommendations bore fruit in the determination not to assess wells so as to raise the assessment over what the general value and character of the land (apart from the well) would warrant. In that year orders were issued giving a distinct assurance 'that the rayats would be allowed the full benefit of their own improvements, that the lands thus improved would not be subject to any additional assessment so long as the general rates of the district remain unaltered, and that, on the occasion of any general revision of the district rates, the assessment of the lands so improved would be irrespective of the increased value conferred upon them by their holders.' With a view, however, to guard against possible fraud by the construction of wells in close proximity to existing Government works so as to draw away water from such sources by absorption and percolation, it was laid down that the exemption shall not extend to wells 'dug within 100 yards in rear of tank *bands*, rivers, channels, and beds of tanks,' nor to wells 'dug in land which can be watered by any existing public work of irrigation.' The first restriction was subsequently relaxed, as it was found impossible to determine the extent of the influence of percolation and absorption, so that rayats can now sink wells close to a tank, river, or channel without fear of enhancement of assessment, provided the wells are sunk in lands assessed as dry, and that water from existing Government sources is not

drawn into the wells by surface flow. The results of these liberal concessions have been most beneficial to the province generally, and in more than one district they have prevented scarcity from developing into famine."

During the ten years ending 1900-1901 the Madras Government advanced to the agriculturists 47 lakhs for the sinking of wells, but 91 per cent. of the wells were sunk without any assistance from Government. This, indicating as it does a strong spirit of self-help, is one of the most suggestive and encouraging facts brought to notice by the inquiry. It should be understood that by far the greater part of the area under the minor works and wells is only what may be described as semi-protected—that is to say, in a year of drought there may be a very deficient crop, or a crop not requiring much irrigation may have to be grown instead of rice under the tanks. It would not, perhaps, be far wrong to say that in the semi-protected areas it would require two years of drought to produce a famine, while one year of drought might produce it where there is no protection.

In addition to the area in the *rayatwari* tracts, there is in the 29,600 square miles of zemindari and proprietary estates a cultivated area estimated at 10 million acres, of which 2½ millions are irrigated, chiefly from tanks.

"Information on this part of the subject would be incomplete without a short explanation of the method of fixing the charge for water. When the British came into possession of the Madras Districts at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries the country was greatly impoverished by a century of war and misgovernment. The assessments were generally 50 per cent. of the gross out-turn, in some districts more, and in one as high as 80 per cent. There was no time to inquire into the revenue-paying capabilities of each district, and the old assessments were continued, but with some reduction, where they were very high. It was soon brought to notice that the assessments were excessive, but little was done until Sir Thomas

Munro became Governor, when he initiated a series of reforms which have led to the present system, applicable alike to dry and irrigated lands, of limiting the assessments to one-half the net produce. When a district has been surveyed and the soils classified, the out-turns of the standard crops in normal years are ascertained by inquiry and experiment ; the commutation rate is fixed by averaging the recorded market prices for a long series of years and making a deduction for merchants' profits and cost of putting on the market. The value of the grain out-turn to the *rayat* being thus ascertained, a deduction (generally 15 per cent. where the irrigation is fairly good) is made for vicissitudes of season and a deduction for cost of cultivation, calculated on the best data obtainable. Half the balance is the limit of assessment. In the case of irrigated land the sum credited to irrigation is the consolidated assessment less the assessment of dry land of similar quality. The rent at which irrigated land is leased out for cultivation generally indicates how far the assessment is within the limit allowed. The Government is not bound never to alter a classification once made, but, as a matter of fact, when once a district has been properly settled, the classification, to judge by recent examples, is not again disturbed, and in the new settlements the only change of assessment is that due to an alteration of the commutation rate. The same system is followed in assessing newly irrigated land."

## II.

"It has sometimes been made a reproach to the Government of India that more of the surplus drainage of the country is not used for irrigation. The chapter in the Report of the Irrigation Commission (Part I., chapter ii.) dealing with the limitations of irrigation explains the situation clearly. The main causes which have limited the use of the surplus drainage are thus classified :

"(1) The geographical and seasonal distribution of the rainfall ;

- “(2) The physical configuration of the country ;
- “(3) The difficulty of holding up water stored in years of good rainfall as a provision against a year of drought ;
- “(4) The character of the soil ; and
- “(5) The large number of different States and territories into which the country is divided and subdivided.”

“Each of these conditions is discussed in detail. It is estimated that 6 per cent. of the rainfall of India is utilized for artificial irrigation of all kinds, and 35 per cent. is carried away by rivers.” While not attempting to say what is the possible limit of irrigation, the Commissioners have been able to include in their programme new works to irrigate  $6\frac{1}{2}$  million acres and utilize  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of the water which now runs to the sea. In Madras the local drainage is much more utilized than in other Provinces. In the river basins from the Penner southwards 70 per cent. of the surface flow is utilized, and there is very limited scope for impounding more water. The Godaveri practically cannot be utilized except in the Delta. The Kistna and its tributary the Tungabudra are the only rivers on which very great quantities of water can be stored, and even for that the consent of Hyderabad is required, as one-half the site of each reservoir would be in that State.

The Commissioners found that there is a very limited field for new productive works—that is, works likely to yield, ten years after completion, a net revenue equivalent to a return of not less than 5 per cent. on the direct and indirect capital outlay, and that there is no prospect of new irrigation works, on any considerable scale, proving directly remunerative in any of the Provinces in which protective irrigation is most urgently required. It is therefore most important to arrive at clear ideas respecting the indirect advantages of irrigation, and how far they may be set against the apparent loss to the State. It is obvious that there must be some limit placed to the burden which the State may be asked to bear permanently in favour of particular localities, and the decision of the Government on the proposals for extending

irrigation must be largely influenced by the view taken of the value of indirect returns. In their discussion\* of the protective value of irrigation the Commissioners enumerate three kinds of indirect advantages of irrigation, viz. :

“(a) The increase in the general wealth and prosperity of the community resulting from the increase of the produce of cultivation due to irrigation even in years of normal or more than normal rainfall.

“(b) The effect of irrigation and large water-storage works in increasing the humidity of the air and in raising the level of the underground water-supply.

“(c) The prevention or mitigation of the horrors and cost of famine.”

In regard to the second of these, it need only be noted that it is one of the things which go to make the maintenance of the Madras tanks a matter of life and death to the people.

In regard to the first, the Commissioners argue that, apart from the question of famine protection, the State cannot be called on to provide irrigation at more than cost price any more than it can be expected to provide manure, and that “the maximum permanent charge which the State may reasonably undertake in providing irrigation should theoretically be limited by the share of the increase in the produce due to irrigation, which it will be able to recover indirectly. . . .” The Report continues : “The best measure of the increase in the profits of cultivation due to irrigation appears to us to be the amount which the people are willing to pay for it—that is, the gross revenue of the works. . . . If, then, the gross revenue may be taken as a measure of the profits accruing to the cultivation from irrigation, a certain percentage of this revenue may again be taken as a measure of the indirect return to the State which results from these profits.” Assuming, for comparative purposes, that the State receives 25 per cent. of the gross revenue in

\* Report, Part I., ch. iv.

some indirect way, either from the cultivator himself or from those who share in his prosperity, it is shown how small the additional returns are in the case of works which pay but a small percentage on capital. The conclusion come to is that "if a work will not yield a return of 3 per cent., the indirect returns, in themselves, are not likely to be considerable enough to justify its construction," and that "where the direct return is likely to vary between 3 and 5 per cent., more weight may be given to the claim of indirect returns, and the work may probably be constructed without much risk of any real loss to the State." But in a subsequent part of the Report it is definitely recommended that "in all parts where cultivation is at all insecure protective works may be sanctioned without hesitation whenever . . . a net return of more than 3 per cent. on the capital outlay may be anticipated." The case for making 3 per cent. on capital, the minimum return to be required as a condition of sanction, is really stronger and more definite than stated by the Commission, but it is impossible to discuss it fully in this paper. Whatever opinion may be held regarding the duty of the Government in its double capacity as ruler and as the principal landowner, all will agree that relaxation of the rules which now fetter irrigation must proceed step by step and be largely restricted by financial considerations. The amount by which the direct revenue from irrigation is likely to be supplemented by indirect revenue will be of importance, even where protection from famine is the chief consideration, and it will therefore be useful to take Madras as an example, and see what the indirect revenue would amount to. In Madras the change from dry to wet cultivation is a change from low to comparatively high and often *intensive* cultivation, and agricultural prosperity causes a vigorous growth of arts, handicrafts, and trade. In any of the great deltas where cultivation has attained its full or nearly full development, it will be found that the population is two or more to each irrigated acre. Wet cultivation requires two or three times

as much labour as dry cultivation, and its extension can only go on *pari passu* with an increase of the population. Between 1866-67 and 1890-91 the irrigated area within the Godaveri delta increased 273,000 acres, and the population 409,000; for the same period the figures for the Kistna delta were 275,000 and 344,000 acres. It would be interesting to know how much of the increase in the general revenues was contributed by the deltas. For the two districts the increase in the forty or fifty years after the construction of the anicuts was about two-thirds of the increase in the land- and water-tax. Now, the same kind of change, though perhaps on a less pronounced scale, must happen wherever dry cultivation is exchanged for irrigation from a reliable source. A man cannot be expected to expend much labour in cultivation when he does not know whether he will reap a crop. Irrigate the land, and you have the change from a scattered, depressed, ignorant, famine-haunted population to a more numerous population, brighter, better educated, more active and enterprising, more alive in every way. Of course, the change may take a long time, especially if it requires much labour to prepare the lands for irrigation, but the change is certain to come in all places where the people eagerly desire to use the water, as they do in most parts of Madras. "If there is not much immigration this will only cause some delay. The people may be trusted to increase their numbers naturally when they have sufficient means of subsistence. It will be understood that the works referred to are those primarily intended to develop the capacity of the land, and not works primarily intended for protection against famine in places where there is no keen or constant demand for water. These come into another category. If it be asked what indirect revenue the State may expect to get from the improved condition of the people in addition to the irrigation revenue, it is not easy to say, but a rough calculation may be made. It may be assumed that the increase in produce due to irrigation of an acre of the upland country will not be less than it is in

the deltas, and that in the two cases the additional population for which a livelihood will be provided may be taken as the same; also that the contribution to the general taxes per head of population of an irrigated tract is not less than that of the whole population. In Madras the revenue per head of population from the general Imperial taxes is Rs. 1.4; and as the increase of population will be over 1 per irrigated acre, the indirect revenue may be taken at something over Rs.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , which is one-half the net revenue per acre from the larger irrigation works. If a share of the net earnings of railways, and of the post-office, and of the increase in provincial and local taxes be added, it is probable that the indirect revenue would not be less than Rs. 2 per acre." As stated in the Commission's Report, every irrigation work is more or less protective, and minor projects scattered about wherever a secure water-supply can be provided are specially commended. It is difficult to say what area surrounding an irrigated tract can be taken as protected by it, as this will depend on the possible duration of drought and the extent to which the country is already protected by wells or small tanks. The number which it can feed, in proportion to its own population, can perhaps be approximately ascertained by a study of movements of trade during famines. Considering both the large indirect revenue and the protective effect of irrigation works where the supply is assured, it does not appear unreasonable to hope that 3 per cent. on capital will be fixed as the minimum net revenue which should be required as a condition of sanction.

There is no natural dividing line as regards their protective character between irrigation works in a country slightly liable to famine and works in a country specially liable to famine, but the Irrigation Commission had to make a distinction, as they did not consider Government obliged to provide irrigation at a loss except in what are called the famine tracts. "It is a task of acknowledged difficulty to make any sort of estimate of the unremunerative



expenditure which the State may legitimately incur in providing protection against famine, and the Commission were obliged to deal with the question in the following way. One of the Bombay districts which had suffered most severely from famine was taken as an example. The average annual direct cost of famine relief was capitalized at 4 per cent. An allowance being made for some increase of population due to better conditions, a certain irrigated area per head (0·4 acres in the case of Sholapur, but in the general case 0·3 to 0·5 acres) was assumed to be required to provide or supplement the food-supply in times of drought. Deducting the existing area under irrigation works and wells, the remainder was the required area of new irrigation which, divided into the capitalized annual famine expenditure, gave what was called '*the direct protective value of an irrigated acre.*' But there are also indirect losses of revenue from famine, such as loss from land going out of cultivation and losses of general revenue from excise, salt, etc., due to the impoverishment of the people. These, it was thought, may amount to as much as the direct cost of famine relief. There is, further, the amount which may be spent on humanitarian grounds. Altogether, the Commission considered that, in addition to the capitalized value of the direct revenue, three times the protective value of an irrigated acre would not involve an expenditure on the irrigation of an acre out of all proportion to the advantage to be gained by preventing famine instead of relieving it, provided that the water-supply is so secure that protection may be regarded as assured in the worst year of drought. The defect in the method of calculation adopted is that no relation is stated between the area and population of the irrigated tracts. The future population of the whole protected tract is assumed and used as a known quantity in calculating the required area of irrigation. In the Bombay Deccan the crops grown under the existing irrigation works are for the most part food grains, chiefly millet. In years of drought the area of high-class crops is curtailed, and

water diverted to the dry crops. In Madras, where the soil in the irrigated parts is nearly all more or less arenaceous, irrigation by flow is almost synonymous with rice cultivation, and when the dry crops fail there is not very much room for substituting food crops for other irrigated crops. Even the most favoured irrigated tracts cannot provide much food beyond whatever stocks may be in hand and such surplus as is ordinarily exported. The Commission estimated that in Sholapur the required area of irrigation is 16 per cent. of the whole cultivated area. In Madras a much higher percentage is required; in fact, 27 per cent. of the whole cultivated area (or a considerably larger percentage if the West Coast and the 'famine tracts' be omitted) is already irrigated, but much of it is insecure, and destructive famines, as in 1876-1877, are still possible in the districts most amply provided with tanks. The tanks afford a very real, if not always sufficient, protection; but, as a rule, this protection is confined to the area under them because they receive a short supply, or perhaps none, when drought is so severe as to destroy the dry crops.

"The Commission's forecast of expenditure on Government irrigation works is 1,510 lakhs for productive, 920 for intermediate, and 1,970 for unproductive works; total, 4,400 lakhs for the irrigation of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  million acres. It is expected that this will result in an annual loss of 73.72 lakhs, part of which will be offset by a reduction in famine relief, and that the net loss will not amount to more than 43 lakhs. The programme is not exhaustive, and is only intended to cover work during a limited period, probably twenty years. Many important improvements in the classification and financing of State irrigation works are proposed, but these are too complicated for discussion in this paper.

"The Commission consider the question of extending irrigation by private works of at least equal importance to that of extension from State works. Of the 44 million acres irrigated in British India,  $25\frac{1}{2}$  millions are irrigated from private works, and of this nearly  $12\frac{1}{4}$  millions are irrigated

from wells. To encourage the extension of this irrigation, they recommend a development of the present system of *takavi* advances for agricultural improvements ; grants-in-aid where the people have become impoverished by famine ; definite assurances of permanent or long-term exemption from enhancement of assessment on account of improvements ; and more extensive employment of relief labour on agricultural works, even those which will benefit private individuals who will pay nothing in return for them. Reference has already been made to the satisfactory results of *takavi* advances in Madras and to the exemption from taxation of improvements which the *rayats* there have enjoyed for the last half-century."

### III.

It will interest many to learn what is being done in Madras in the campaign against drought. The programme of the Irrigation Commission provides 100 lakhs for small reservoir projects, and 100 for extension of existing irrigation systems. A large number of these smaller works are under investigation. 1,340 lakhs are provided for the Cauvery, Tungabudra, and Kistna projects, which will now be described. I am indebted to the Madras Government for allowing me to use the reports, but must explain that none of the schemes, whether matured or provisional, have been submitted for sanction, and the proposals represent only the views of the engineers. There are really two alternative projects connected with the Cauvery. One of these is for storage on the Bhawani, a tributary of the Cauvery, and the other for storage on the main river. The latter only need be described, as it is pretty certain to be sanctioned, with whatever modifications the responsible advisers of the sanctioning authorities may recommend. The irrigation of the Cauvery Delta, though much improved by the construction of the Upper Anicut, has never been very satisfactory, and a portion of the crops frequently suffers from

insufficient irrigation in the intervals between freshes, and at the end of the season, when there is very little water in the river. Protection is required, but the flood-water which can be stored is much more than sufficient for this, and a large quantity can be used for extending irrigation. It is only half a century since the rational principles of the design of high dams were first worked out by French engineers, but the possibilities of forming reservoirs on large rivers were still very limited until Mr. Stoney invented the free-roller sluice-gate. With large sluice-gates working easily and smoothly under heavy pressures, it is possible now to pass the water of a large river through a dam, as is done at Assouan. At the site selected for the dam of the Cauvery Reservoir the valley is only three-quarters of a mile wide, with rocky hills on both sides. The depth of water in front of the dam will be about 126 feet above the general bed-level of the river. The length of crest will be 4,950 feet; area of reservoir, 33 square miles; and capacity, 40,000 millions of cubic feet, or 6 per cent. more than the Assouan Reservoir. It is proposed to pass surplus through seventy-two large sluices, fitted with Stoney's gates, in the body of the dam. Judging from the river sections, it would appear probable that there will be about twice as much masonry as in the Assouan Dam, and five times as much as in the Periyar Dam. Besides protecting 915,000 acres of old irrigation, it is proposed to irrigate 46,000 acres by channels from the dam and 216,000 in the Delta and the country south and west of it, and also give water for second crops on 160,000 acres.

The Tungabudra project is on a much grander scale. The investigation will still take years to complete, and the report made last year is merely a sketch, which, however, may be taken as giving a fairly correct idea of the general features of the scheme. The four Deccan districts—with an area of 27,600 square miles and population nearly 4 millions—and the greater part of the adjoining district of Nellore are more insecure than any other part of the

Presidency, and are afflicted with severe scarcity, if not famine, on an average once in every five years. The census of 1881 disclosed the enormous loss of life which occurred in the famine of 1876-1878. The population was found to have decreased 11 per cent. in Nellore to 26 per cent. in Kurnool. In two of the districts the population is still less than it was thirty years ago. Taking the four districts together, although the population increased 27 per cent. between 1881 and 1901, it was still in the latter year 8 per cent. below the population of 1871. Happily, the terrible state of things in the famines of thirty or forty years ago cannot occur again, as communications have since then been greatly improved, and there is excellent organization for dealing with famines. Immediately scarcity appears steps are taken to relieve it as far as necessary, and, if possible, prevent it deepening into famine. During the twenty-six years 1876 to 1901 the cost of relief and loss of revenue from failure of crops in the five districts which will be affected by the Tungabudra scheme exceeded six crores of rupees. The first proposals for the irrigation of any large area in these districts were made by Sir A. Cotton. The only portion of his scheme which has been executed is the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal, but the other portions, as far as the general idea goes, are included in the present scheme. The idea of protecting at least a portion of the Bellary district was revived from time to time, but attempts to find any financially practicable scheme failed until the visit of the Irrigation Commission, when it was found that there was some chance of getting a large scheme accepted, and that the chief obstacle to the success of a small scheme—namely, the great cost of carrying a canal through the Daroji Hills—would be much reduced in importance if a more vast and daring scheme than any proposed before were adopted.

The Tungabudra, the largest tributary of the Kistna, rises in Mysore in the Western Ghâts. After leaving Mysore it forms for some distance the boundary between the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and for the remainder

of its length is the boundary between the Native State of Hyderabad and the British districts of Bellary and Kurnool. Through the middle of Bellary from south to north runs the Hagari, a fairly wide river, but with a very poor and uncertain supply. Along the eastern boundary of the district is the watershed separating the basin of the Hagari from that of the Penner, which runs eastwards through the Anantapur, Cuddapah, and Nellore districts to the sea. It was found that if a very large and deep reservoir were formed at the best site for such a work, three miles above Hospet, a canal could be taken off at a sufficiently high level to admit of its being led across the basin of the Hagari and through the watershed into the Penner basin, where large areas could be irrigated in the poor districts of Anantapur and Cuddapah, and a portion of the supply could be passed on to Nellore, but the main supply to Nellore could, it was thought, best be provided by enlarging the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal, or making a supplementary canal in the same part of the country to carry water from the Tungabudra to the Penner basin. The Kurnool Canal will be enlarged, if only to supply its own irrigation, which has been steadily extending of late years. Whether the additional water required can best be provided by another canal, or by the high-level canal from the reservoir, is an open question. Setting this aside as a detail, the general features of the main scheme may be described. As provisionally designed, the reservoir will hold up water to about 130 feet above the river bed at site of dam; its area will be 130 square miles, and capacity 157,000 millions of cubic feet, or four and a quarter times that of the Assouan Reservoir. A canal capable of carrying 6,000 cubic feet per second will be taken off about 40 feet below the full level of the reservoir. The first twenty-two miles will be in very difficult rocky country along the foot of the hills, and at the end of this section the hills will be pierced by a tunnel two miles long. Beyond this there is no special difficulty. The line reaches the Hagari at about ninety-four miles from the reservoir, and

thence to the Penner watershed is no very great distance. One or two subsidiary reservoirs will be formed on the Penner, partly for the purpose of raising the water-level to give more command, and partly to store flood-water. The gross areas commanded will be 2,800 square miles in Bellary and Kurnool, 900 in Anantapur and Cuddapah, and 2,300 in Nellore; in all, 6,000 square miles. Of course, the irrigable area is much less, much land being required for village sites, threshing-floors, ponds, roads, channels, banks, etc. Under very favourable conditions it may be possible to irrigate two-thirds of the commanded area, but in somewhat broken upland country one-half is perhaps as much as can be expected, and this is nearly what is taken in the rough estimates. It is thought that, besides merely insuring  $\frac{3}{4}$  million acres of dry crops,  $\frac{3}{4}$  million acres of dry crops will be regularly irrigated, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  million "wet" crops. Much of the land will also be cultivated with two crops. As water will be supplied in all parts of the area commanded, famine there will be made impossible. There is no reason to doubt that as an engineering work the scheme is quite practicable, and it is fairly certain that it will involve no permanent burden to the country if the saving in famine relief and the increase in the general revenue due to the increase in numbers and prosperity of the people be taken into account. If the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission as to the limit of expenditure on famine protective works be even in part accepted, it may confidently be expected that this grand scheme will be sanctioned, or, if the Government should take a net revenue of 3 per cent. on capital as the required return, it may probably be classed at once as a productive work. The rough estimate of cost is 6 millions sterling, the interest on which would be paid by a much smaller area than it is hoped to irrigate. When fully developed, the irrigated tract will be able to provide food for all the people and cattle in an area of fully 20,000 square miles during the worst possible famine.

The Tungabudra project is a magnificent scheme, but it

is rivalled by the Kistna Reservoir project. Even a few years ago the ideas of engineers seldom went beyond such works as the Assouan Reservoir, and the first proposals for a reservoir on the Kistna contemplated a work of about that size. The chief objection to this was the enormous quantity of silt which would be impounded, as the reservoir was intended for high-level irrigation, and the sluices in the dam could not be kept open, as at Assouan, until the end of the flood season. Mr. Reid, to whom belongs the honour of initiating the project and conducting the investigation as far as it has gone, brought his views before the Irrigation Commission, who recommended that the scheme should be investigated as soon as possible. The scheme has since then grown enormously, and now includes a dam, at a place called Kottapalli Revu, about ninety miles above the head of the Delta, capable of holding up water to a height of 174 feet above the river bed, and impounding 125,000 millions of cubic feet. It is proposed to take off a large canal at 134 feet above the river bed to irrigate 5,000 square miles of "famine tract" in the west of the Kistna district and the north of Nellore. It is expected that  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million acres can be irrigated in this tract, and that the supply to the Delta from December onwards can be so improved that an extension of 200,000 acres will be possible, and, moreover, 200,000 acres of second crop can be raised, and navigation maintained until the end of April. The dam, if carried out as provisionally designed, will be a gigantic work. The length on crest will be 10,000 feet, and the contents 40 millions of cubic feet, which is just about twice the amount of masonry in the Assouan Dam. The flood discharge of the Kistna is about one and a half times that of the Nile. To pass the enormous quantity of 700,000 cubic feet per second, it is proposed to have fifty sluices near the base of the high dam in the river, and eighty over a rocky shoulder in one of the flanks. To obviate any danger in the very improbable event of the sluices not working, there will be



an escape 5,000 feet long. The silt difficulty has been greatly reduced by the enlargement of the reservoir and the arrangement of the sluices. Will the scheme pay? Mr. Reid thinks that it will, and yield a handsome profit; but until the estimates are properly made out, it will be better to follow the Irrigation Commission, and regard it as "intermediate"—that is to say, doubtful. Interest charges make an enormous difference in the financial prospects of works of this kind, which take a long time to construct, and can earn nothing until they are nearly completed. If part of the famine grant could be capitalized, as tentatively suggested by the Commission, and used as a kind of banking account to which interest and earnings could be debited and credited until they balanced, the financing of these big works would be much easier. Both this and the Tungabudra project will be much affected by the policy which may be adopted by the Government. The relief of famine, without taking measures at the same time to increase the resources of the places subject to famine, seems certain to end in disaster, as the number requiring relief will only be the greater in each succeeding famine.

When compared with these big projects, the smaller ones must be uninteresting, and only two of them will be briefly mentioned. The Divi Island lies between two mouths of the Kistna, and has an area of about 100,000 acres. It is proposed to irrigate half of this by pumping from the Kistna from the commencement of the flood season in June until the supply becomes so low that the water becomes brackish, which generally occurs about the end of November. The work will be important as being the first example in India of irrigation on a large scale by pumping, and if successful will probably lead to similar works being undertaken elsewhere.

The second project is the extension of the Periyar irrigation, which has been an incalculable blessing to Madura, and in the first three years of its existence twice staved off local scarcity, if not famine. The project is now

paying more than the interest on its capital. Irrigation has gone as far as the water-supply allows, and there is urgent demand for more water. In ordinary years a third of the water entering the lake passes waste over the weir, and in order to save some of this it is proposed to raise the lake level 8 feet, lower the escape and fit sluice-gates on it, enlarge the capacity of the tunnel, and build an additional large reservoir in the plains to be filled from the lake.

Although not strictly within the subject of this paper, it may be allowable to call attention to the backwardness of India in using water-power. All who have the interests of the country at heart must lament its great dependence on a single and, to a large extent, precarious industry. When all has been done that public and private enterprise can do by means of irrigation to protect this industry from vicissitudes, and improve the condition of those engaged in it, the country will still be very poor, and the people in many parts of it deficient in resources to carry them through bad times, unless manufacturing industries can be greatly developed. One of the chief difficulties connected with this is the want of cheap power. The Government might to some extent help to overcome this difficulty by allowing the use of water for water-power on easy terms. There is an immense quantity of water constantly flowing from the hill ranges. It may be that most of the places where power could be generated are too remote or unhealthy, but there are many both in the hills and on the plains where power could be developed with great benefit to the country. Although the Mysore Government was not quite the first in the field in showing how profitable the use of water-power might be, it was the first to show that it could be with great profit transmitted to a long distance. The cost of the Cauvery Power Scheme by which the Kolar Gold Mines, ninety-two miles away, are supplied with power and light, was only £336,000, or £80 per horse-power delivered at the mines. At the end of ten years the Mysore Government will have received a net income of

£547,000, and the mining companies will have saved £600,000. Madras furnishes an instructive example of the direct use of water-power in a cotton-mill of about 300 horse-power, worked by water from the head of the Tambrapurin Falls. There must be very many places where the construction of small reservoirs on hill streams would supply a large amount of power, while at the same time such works would be valuable in improving and regulating the supply for irrigation. The uses to which water-power can be put will, of course, depend on each locality and the natural facilities for special manufactures. Where the power cannot profitably be transmitted to a distance, the choice of uses is, of course, very limited ; but there are some manufactures for which materials are very easily obtained in India, and which could be carried on almost anywhere.

It is sincerely hoped that all who have any influence in this country will take an interest in the irrigation question, and do all in their power to support a policy which has for its aim the extension of the benefits of irrigation and the prevention or mitigation of the misery and long-lasting effects of famine.

## THE CYRUS VASE INSCRIPTION AND BEHISTŪN.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D.

THE Cyrus vase inscription, first deciphered by Rawlinson, beyond all shadow of a doubt provides us with an effective and decisive parallel to the statements in the Biblical edicts of Cyrus, Darius, and their successors, which are now forced once more upon our critical attention in a comprehensive view of Zoroastrianism.

The detailed passages of Holy Writ are absolutely justified as proving to us that the Jews of the Return—I mean, of course, their leaders chiefly—had exact ideas as to the animus of Cyrus, his customs, and his power. The picture which they draw is no miniature nor an over-coloured caricature, but an extended canvas, in harmony with the real conditions of affairs—an image to the life. The Cyrus of Chronicles, Ezra, and Isaiah is the selfsame man whose long since recorded words have been so wonderfully preserved to us upon those few inches of material which we now most justly hold to be exceptionally precious.

But the vase inscription, though it is the issue of the great Aryan Ruler, is in Assyrian; and in our discussion as regards the influence of the Avesta and of its lost related lore the very shape of the words possesses importance. Moreover (strange as it may seem to be to say it), the vase inscription lacks certain elements of confirmation.

Here, however, I must bring in an element which at the first glance might appear to some readers to be quite of the minor class, and hardly telling at all upon this present side in the debate—that is to say, not upon the effectiveness of the Iranian inscriptions as an element in the argument. And in some other stages of the investigation these details which I am now about to present become indeed once more subordinate.

Let this, what I am about to say, be regarded as being rather a meditation offered in parenthesis. For it is the physical substance, or rather the lack of substance, through the cutting out of stony matter, which I desire to recall here for a moment into view, as also the geographical considerations which adhere to our Iranian monuments.

### THE ARYAN ACHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS: THEIR SCENIC AND TOPOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

We have often read the so-called edicts in the Chronicles and Ezra (to linger for a moment once more here upon these particulars), with their striking terms as put chiefly into the mouth of Cyrus, but also into those of his successors. We have seen, too, from the vase writing (so far as that extends as a witness), how those records were possible to have been published by the chronicler and by Ezra at the times stated, for this could not have been made certain except through some contemporaneous authority. But the manuscripts of ancient literature—even those of Holy

Scripture—inestimably precious as they are, have yet their limits, and so have the steles and cylinders, for their claims are largely or wholly moral to most of us so far as they extend.

Those claims are very acute indeed, and impress us with a sense of certainty, and also stir a mental thrill within us when we consider the frail thread of mechanical life on which they hang. But when we turn to the Aryan inscriptions we are met with something otherwise not comparable as testimony, appealing likewise to the æsthetic element within it.

#### THE ARYAN ACHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS HAVE ESPECIAL ELEMENTS OF AUTHORITY.

The clay Vase Inscription, which possesses such strong and almost irresistible intellectual claims upon us, though endowed with a sort of piquant charm to us from the very fact of its so delicate material, and from the precarious existence through which it has persisted during so long a period before it came into our possession, yet lacks some elements which our Iranian ones possess. It not only misses that impressive element which their physical dimensions and scenic positions give the Aryan Achæmenian inscriptions, but to a certain minute degree a percentage of uncertainty inheres within the considerations which render it so valuable to us. Not at all because it has been for so long time hidden. This latter circumstance only enhances its value, as it seems to me, in the acme of our interested search.

#### MANUSCRIPTS AND CLAY INSCRIPTIONS ARE CONCEIVABLY FALLIBLE.

But if a ruler of Babylonian Persia could write down such statements as we have in Chronicles and upon the Cyrus vase at the time and place thereby of necessity indicated as the dates and homes of those so memorable writings, then, of course, any other person whosoever could have done the same and at any later date—that is to say, any person at all conversant with the more important transactions of the day, and possessing sufficient social status as to have been able both to read and write, and to secure the mechanical execution of the objects. The descriptions and traditions of the great supposed events must have flooded everything everywhere, and for a long time after their supposed occurrence, and with the closest of details, and also (let us confess it) sometimes with the amplest of exaggerations. Every “story-teller of Israel” and of Persian Babylon, whosoever he might be, could, even centuries after their asserted date, repeat these grand though simple annals; and if he repeated them at all, he would most probably be more than pleased to place in a fresher light the great imperial deeds of his country’s former so eminent Ally, with the usual inevitable result.

The very minor pupils of the schools, Assyrian or Jewish, in many a later period must also have often heard some intended echoes of the supposed events, and that as household words, if indeed there were such occurrences at all within the scope of public knowledge, and all this quite simply and as a thing of course.

But do we actually know from the Cyrus vase and from the Scripture edicts that the entire mass of the professed contemporaneous account of these so deeply interesting and so signally important affairs is not really and in its bulk as original a complete imposture, and altogether of a later date? For what have we at all as evidence approaching to an eyesight upon objects to certify to us with ultimate effect that those records were really so old, original, and actual, as they are now thought without reserve by most of us to be? Where could the lot of them, the supposed authors of these writings, let us ask—the annalists, the reciters, the commentators, and the engravers—have got the incipient forms of their ideas as to these alleged colossal deeds at all, and at the dates and places which we have so freely claimed for them? I ask this question as referring to the entire classes living at the times in view—the monarchs, the nobles, the priests, and the prophets. How do we actually know that such a state of knowledge was at all at hand with them as we have supposed to have existed in accepting the Vase Inscription, the edicts, and the other literature of the time, and that which refers historically to it?

We believe indeed, and fervently enough—nay, we are critically convinced—that the vase is genuine as being contemporaneous with Cyrus, and that it was engraved at his command, and that its Assyrian has been practically made out, and our scientific certainty is all the more refined because it is concerned with what is the reverse of gross; but is it so completely justified as not to be conceivably erroneous? (Let us also not forget that all the supposed related facts which meet us in our Bibles, and which are very dear to many of us, are themselves, and most of all, at stake.)

#### THE CONCEIVABLE FALLIBILITY OF THE EDICTS.

How, then, can we be so positively sure that Cyrus had expressed himself in the very singular manner narrated by the writers in Chronicles and in Ezra, and by the writers who prepared the statements which were engraved upon the vase and upon its many replicas, if the vase inscription lacks any elements of certainty?

Many scholars, whether closely critical or not, may have been, and, as I believe, many were, immovably sceptical as to most of the Scriptural details with regard to the Return and its imperial subvention, doubting the whole account of it from its beginnings on.

The Biblical edicts are indeed of themselves alone of a certain weight, and this whatsoever may have been their actual date when they were first recognised as documents in our oldest surviving Hebrew manuscripts. But they need sorely to be themselves confirmed, and this also (although with greatly less persistence) we may say of the Vase Inscription.

As to the rejoinder, “that the firmest conclusions of even the most advanced of specialists must be always somewhat subtle to the common mind in their chain of reasoning from premise to conclusion,” I will do nothing whatever but acquiesce. But the following facts remain:

These Bible passages, aside from our previous lifelong intellectual con-

victions or pietistic confidence, might, as I would say, be one and all of them later inserted into the places where they occur in the Hebrew records. For there is literally nothing ancient upon paper, vellum, or papyrus which is absolutely entire as measured by what it originally was. Interpolation, hiatus, detrition, have marred completeness everywhere. How, then, are we so absolutely sure that these people—the Kings, the Prophets, and the Scribes—could have known those things at all and at Cyrus's time, or that these events in fact transpired? The Cyrus Vase Inscription, almost inestimably precious as it is, is more of a document than an absolutely certain monument, and this most positively.

That it is fragile of course enhances its acute interest in our eyes, and greatly so, as I have already said, but nothing dimensional confirms it. It might even conceivably have been falsified intentionally—forged, in fact, from its beginning to its close, finding its way also later in the course of time into some Babylonian Noble's library, where it has been (at last, after so long a sleep) discovered, like the shoals of other counterfeits.

#### BUT WHO CAN DOUBT THE AUTHENTICITY OF BEHISTŪN?

Could a Persian Emperor, even if he had the wish to do so, have set a mass of architects, builders, and sculptors to work to master that formidable ascent, wholly or partly reaching to 300 feet above the plain, and to hew out a series of falsifications concerning common public facts of notorious import upon a well-known mountainside (not that every individual item there chiselled was really intended to be executed as absolutely true)?

The point which I am endeavouring to drive home upon the convictions of my readers is the unassailable fact of the authorship of the inscriptions of Behistūn at the particular time and place of those magnificent details, and so also the full possibility that the others, like them, in their contents—that is to say, those in the Biblical edicts and upon the Vase—can likewise be regarded as absolutely genuine and contemporaneous with the events which they are supposed, and which they profess, so fully to describe.

Here are the very texts themselves engraved upon the open front of a conspicuous eminence in forms which must have taken months or even a few years in those slow days to cut out mechanically after arranging the surfaces for their reception, while the to them so deeply-interesting process must have been watched by many a group from Darius's government from the beginning to the completion, as well as by the passers-by.

So also of their well-mated sister records of Naksh-i-Rustam, Van, Alvand (while those of Persepolis and others within domiciles would be somewhat less obvious to the public gaze). It really seems to me to be the fact—and I do not at all see how we can gainsay it—that we have here in these inscriptions some of the very excessively few original, and therefore positively certified, relics of the intellectual life of man—that is to say, so far as regards these earlier dates and the advanced character of their contents.

THE LIFE OF MANUSCRIPTS AND OF CLAY INSCRIPTIONS.

The existing evidence of the life of books is indeed impressive to us when we take a moment to consider it, and this just in proportion as the links in their identity from the earlier generations to the later ones may seem to us to be so slight. A little scrap of fibrous matter, brittle and exposed to destruction from a score of causes, seems, indeed, to us to be almost trivial as the eye falls down upon it; but yet it has been an absolutely indispensable section in the long-continued lifetime of immortal thoughts. Just as a single human being is a continuation of a precarious line, often at times with scarce a hope of its survival from the remote ancestor to the just born descendant, so, first from memorizer to memorizer and then later from copy to copy or from replica to replica (in the case of vases, steles, and cylinders), the endangered existence has persisted through generations of the world's calamities. It is the frail life of human ideas which has been dependent upon a chip of clay, a shred of paper, or a scroll of vellum, and the very feebleness of this flicker of the mental breath makes what it is and what it announces to us all the more endeared, and likewise, as we might safely say of it, all the more sublime. A slender thread of human beauty, it has stretched on to us in its precarious continuity, unbroken in the very midst of arson, frauds, ignorance, and, above all, in the face of vandalism. It, indeed, affords us one striking proof the more of that so solemn circumstance—namely, “that the laws of life are really as inexorable amongst us as the laws of death.”

This has sublimity indeed, and I would be the last to point one sentence to lessen it or mar its charm. *But there is another sublimity.* Amidst these now so indefinitely repeated masses of man's recorded efforts to carry on the knowledge of the world with which our presses have been groaning since the first use of types, no solitary specimen of an original handwriting back of a certain date has been preserved to us as absolutely fixed in its claims to be accredited as regards its time and place of origin.

THE OLDEST BOOKS HAVE LATER MANUSCRIPTS.

The oldest manuscript even of the venerable Veda itself is, strange as one might well consider the circumstance to be, comparatively new; the mere vibration of a note is an echo from the once mighty volume of early Vedic song.

But here at Behistūn we stand in imagination beside our travellers and look upon an immovable elevation bearing beyond all question the very characters which were cut upon its surface more than 2,400 years ago. It is the great manuscript of manuscripts (if we might permit ourselves for a moment so to speak of it). We see the very cavities carved out by the chisels which were driven by the hands of men who were alive when the distinguished Ruler himself doubtless stood (and more than once) upon the timbers of the temporary structures and watched the skilful touches of the hewers as they so deftly fitted in the shapes. Surely this, too, has sublimity; and it holds us silent, as much so as the little piece of pottery with its truly formidable record (formidable in the immensity of its historical import).



Here we have, beyond all doubt, existing products of "the pen of iron" from human hands that were original at the work—results stamped upon a lofty rock from the very body of the earth, at once a record and a portion of the great empire which arose, culminated, and perished in its then allotted periods.

#### DESOLATION AND PERMANENCE.

The broken columns of the Palace upon the esplanade which spreads beside a valuable group of the sister writings at Persepolis are witnesses, indeed, to what is transitory. They tell us many a grand, if likewise also many a terrific, tale of a once elaborated splendour and of its annihilation; but here is a living element like the soul of a departed body still speaking to us yet and from the selfsame tablets as clearly as when the plains around them swarmed with the troops of the great Organizer, and the stately walls of the original edifices stood in the bloom of their artistic decoration. Strange witnesses, indeed, these are, as we may remark in passing, and from a very special reason, of the transitory state of human prominence, uttering as they do their magnificent asseverations of universal sovereignty (see the momentous passages repeated more than twice), each at the time of its execution expressing a mighty truth—namely, that the very habitable Globe, that is to say, the to them then known part of it, had been delivered by Almighty God to the Author of these writings to be ruled by him; while the last pillars that still remain erect do but point out to us more vividly the fate of that same regal authority which has now for ever, but not untimely, passed away. While manuscripts and replicas are good, indeed, as hearsay evidence, these letters upon the walls of Persepolis and upon the living rock of Behistūn (Van, Alvand, Naksh-i-Rustam) seem to me to be like the hands of the ancient dead, which we may grasp to-day as if they were present, and feel the very pulses beat within them as when they traced the still-speaking thoughts which we have here before us.

#### TERRESTRIAL SITES AS ELEMENTS IN EVIDENCE.

Terrestrial sites and scenic bearings, as well as the relatively great dimensions of these impressive objects, here assume an intellectual dignity beyond that which they originally possessed, for they make the texts which express the records of departed men *forever sure to us*.

Manuscripts may vary through fraud or accident, and chasms of wholesale destruction may occur, but here are texts which a score of centuries could not have changed. All the vases of all the excavations might conceivably have been later written than at the time to which we would assign them; but here are characters cut imperishably upon a fixed substance from which they cannot move, and so high up upon its surface that they cannot be hid nor reached to ruin. Surely they and their sisters are alone in this their so exceptional authority—the solitary, still articulate voices (so they seem to me to be) from that otherwise now irrecoverable day.\* They

\* Not that we must forget the throngs of still extant fixed inscriptions upon other themes. Yet even with these in view, we may still ask, "What is there comparable to Behistūn and its Persian mates?"

have been mutilated slightly and in parts, and a little streamlet in the season's rains has obliterated here and there a syllable, or, indeed, entire words; but these are, fortunately, for the most part easily to be restored from other places where the selfsame sentences recur.

Behistūn is imperial, if not imperious, among human records, and we may congratulate ourselves that adequate efforts are to be made to secure complete reproductions of its momentous sentences before the encroachments of the streamlets have done more to mar their beauty or to impair still further that marvellous completeness which centuries of weather have not as yet been able materially to harm.

## THE THATHANABAING, HEAD OF THE BUDDHIST MONKS OF BURMA.

BY D. H. R. TWOMEY, I.C.S.

ON November 13, 1903, a unique ceremony was performed at Mandalay, the last capital and stronghold of the Alômpira dynasty, and still the chief town of Upper Burma. On that day at an open Durbar held near the group of Kyaungs and pagodas to the north of King Mindôn's walled city, the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, Sir Hugh Barnes, formally acknowledged the newly-elected That-hanabaing, or General of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants in Upper Burma, and conferred on him a Sanad, or charter, setting out the conditions on which the acknowledgment rests.

The Order of Mendicants, or, as it is also called, the Order of the Yellow Robe, owes its importance chiefly to the absence of any regular Buddhist priesthood. The Burmese type of Buddhism having no personal God, and no definite form of religious worship, it requires no priestly ministrations. Every man has his destiny entirely in his own hands, and though he may be burdened with an excess of bad over good actions as the net result of former existences, it rests only with himself to redress the balance by strenuously accumulating "merit" and thus rising higher in the scale of being, so as at length to reach the goal of Nirvana, long since attained by the saintly founder of the Buddhist creed. Thus the Pôngyis or monks are not priests. They are recluses who have left the distractions and temptations of the world in order to follow the road pointed out by Gautama, and their ideal is to live the higher life of meditation and self-repression of which he was the perfect example. Pôngyis are often invited to expound the law at funerals and festivals, and they have always acted as instructors of youth. But these are works of supererogation, and the lay Buddhist reveres the Pôngyi

only according to the austerity of his life and the degree in which it conforms to the rules of the Order. To realize the influential position occupied by the Order in Burma, it should be remembered that it is the only Buddhist religious organization in the country, that nine-tenths of the population are Buddhists, that every male Buddhist has to spend part of his boyhood in a monastery, that there are monasteries in every town and nearly every village, and that the giving of alms to the Pôngyis ranks high among "works of merit." The Order was truly described by Bishop Bigandet in 1858 as "the greatest in its extent and diffusion, the most extraordinary and perfect in its fabric and constituent parts, and the wisest in its rules and prescriptions that has ever existed either in ancient or modern times without the pale of Christianity." There are no indications that it has lost ground since then. At the census of 1901 there were over 75,000 Pôngyis in Burma, (inclusive of postulants), and more than 50,000 of these were in the Upper province.

*Thathanabaing* means head or controller of Religion, and *Maha Sanga Raja*, the title employed by the Lieutenant-Governor in addressing the Thathanabaing, maybe rendered as "Great Ruler of the Assembly." It is the designation that was used by the Burmese Court in addressing the head of the Order. *Sanga* is a Pali word meaning "Assembly," and is used in religious writings to designate the Buddhist Assembly of the Faithful, an expression which may be compared with the Christian "Communion of Saints." The General of the Order of Mendicants, as head of the sole Buddhist organization in Burma, is treated as the head of the Buddhist religion. Under the native régime the Thathanabaing was appointed by the King, who usually conferred the office on his favourite religious adviser. The Taungdaw *Sayadaw* (Abbot) who had been appointed by King Thebaw survived that monarch's deposition in 1885, and continued to exercise the functions of Thathanabaing with the cognizance and approval of the

British Government. But on his death in 1895 the Government, in spite of numerous petitions from the monks and laity, declined to take any part or lot in filling the vacant post. The Government was, in fact, prevented from doing so by an Act of the Indian Legislature, passed in 1863, which relieved Government officers from all duties embracing the appointment to religious offices and other like matters. The Buddhists were told that it was for them to choose and appoint their own Thathanabaing. After much discussion, an informal election was held by the Mandalay *Sayadaws*, and the Pakan *Sayadaw* received a majority of votes. The Government refused to recognise him, giving as a reason that the majority was not sufficiently decisive. But it is probable that the Pakan's reputed antagonism to secular education and doubts as to his friendliness to the British were the reasons that really led the Government to ignore his election. Up to the time of his death in 1900, the Pakan used the style of *Thamadi*-Thathanabaing (Thathanabaing-Elect), and issued orders to minor ecclesiastical authorities in Upper Burma. But the want of Government recognition weakened his position, and the dissentient minority raised up an opposition Thathanabaing. It would probably have been a wise step to recognise the Pakan *Sayadaw* in spite of his opinions, which might have been modified by tactful and conciliatory treatment. At any rate, the slur on his election assuredly embittered the closing years of his life, and it may be assumed that he threw the whole weight of his influence against the Government. Moreover, confusion was caused by the refusal of the Civil Courts to recognise any chief ecclesiastical authority, and the want of a Thathanabaing with incontestable authority led to much laxity of control in the crowded Kyaungs of Mandalay. Any harm that might have resulted from the recognition of the Pakan would be small in comparison with these evils.

After the Pakan *Sayadaw's* death, the Buddhists of Mandalay again resorted to the expedient of an election. Appoint-

ment by election is foreign to Oriental ideas, especially in the case of a religious office, and the readiness of the monks and laity in grasping at this novel method shows their anxiety to preserve the traditional constitution of the Order intact. The election was again confined to Mandalay, but on this occasion the electorate was broadened by admitting all Pôngyis in Mandalay (not being mere novices or postulants). It should be explained that Mandalay, since its foundation by King Mindôn over forty years ago, has been the chief Buddhist city of Burma. Out of 50,000 monks in Upper Burma, Mandalay supports close on 8,000, and the proportion was much higher in the King's time. Mandalay is a city of monasteries or Kyaungs, even more than Lhasa, and these Kyaungs are seminaries of Buddhism from which monks go out to all parts of Upper and Lower Burma. The city acquired its pre-eminence in this respect owing to the lavish support given to the Order by the Buddhist kings, and although the number of Pôngyis has fallen since Mandalay ceased to be a Royal city, it is still by far the most important centre of Buddhist activity in Burma. What Mandalay decides in such a matter as the appointment of a Thathanabaing is sure of acceptance by the rest of the country. The monk who headed the poll at the election of 1901 died before the question of his recognition by the Government could be settled, and the Buddhist leaders then, without holding a fresh election, solicited Government recognition for the Taungwin *Sayadaw*, who had obtained the next highest number of votes in 1901. The Government having ascertained that this monk was acceptable not only to the monks and laity of Mandalay, but throughout the whole of Upper Burma, decided to acknowledge him, and full effect was given to this decision at the Durbar of November 13th, when the selection made by the monks was formally ratified by the Lieutenant-Governor.

In his Durbar address the Lieutenant - Governor explained the reasons which had led the Government

to recognise a Thathanabaing, and carefully pointed out that the Government was concerned only with the administrative as distinct from the religious functions of the office. He declared that "the Government cannot interfere with the internal affairs of the Buddhist hierarchy," and can only extend to Buddhists, as to all other religious communities, "the equal and impartial protection of the law." At the close of the speech the Sanad was read in English and Burmese. The Thathanabaing then expressed the gratification of the Buddhists at the action taken by Government, and promised to administer the Order in conformity with the rules and principles prescribed in the Buddhist Scriptures.

The Sanad requires the Thathanabaing to assist and support the Government and to comply with its laws. In return he is recognised as supreme in the internal control and administration of the Buddhist hierarchy in Upper Burma, and the Civil Courts are to give effect to his decisions and those of subordinate religious authorities appointed by him in so far as those decisions relate to matters within their competence (*e.g.*, claims to headship of monasteries, appeals against expulsion from monasteries, and the like). It is distinctly provided, however, that in enforcing monastic discipline or otherwise the Thathanabaing's authority is limited by the ordinary law of India. In other words, the mandates of the Buddhist ecclesiastics are deprived of effect when they conflict with the general laws of the country. These are the operative clauses. But it is added that the Government expects the Thathanabaing and his monks to use their influence on the side of law and order and to assist in the work of education, while in return for these good offices the Lieutenant-Governor promises to maintain unabridged certain exemptions and other privileges already enjoyed by the Buddhists in common with other religious communities. It will be seen that the Sanad is something more than a bare recognition of a religious office. It partakes of the nature of a *concordat* between the

temporal power and the head of the Mendicants as regards the rights of the Order and its relation to the body politic.

The Durbar hall was a large and brilliantly decorated pavilion erected by the Buddhists. The audience included 600 monks who had been invited by the Government. They were seated on the left of the *daïs*, while the right was occupied by European and Burmese officers of the Government, Honorary Magistrates, and Municipal Commissioners. In front, mats and carpets were spread for the Buddhist laity who filled the space to overflowing. The Lieutenant-Governor occupied a chair of state on the *daïs*, and was surrounded by his staff, while the Thathanabaing-Elect was seated on his right. The shaven monks in their yellow robes, contrasting strangely with the bright uniforms of the military officers, the spotless white coats and turbans of the Burmese laity, and the richly coloured silks of the native ladies, resplendent in jewels, made up a scene not unworthy of the Royal city. Sir Hugh Barnes was the Viceroy's chief lieutenant in organizing the great ceremonial at Delhi in January, 1903, and under the guidance of such an expert in Durbar etiquette no detail was omitted that could lend dignity and impressiveness to what will in future be known as the Thathanabaing Durbar.

The bald official account of the proceedings ends with the Lieutenant-Governor's departure under a salute of fifteen guns. But from other sources we learn that the Thathanabaing's return progress to his Kyaung was marked by general rejoicings, recalling the outburst of popular enthusiasm in Rome when the labours of the Conclave are over and the announcement *Habemus Pontificem* introduces a new Pope. The *Sayadaw* was borne along the crowded streets in a sedan chair with a many-tiered gilded roof. White umbrellas, the traditional insignia of authority in Burma, were raised aloft on both sides of the chair, while the Sanad and the various emblems of the Order of Mendicants were carried reverently in front. Thousands



of monks and laymen followed the procession. The streets were gaily decked with flags and streamers and spanned by scores of triumphal arches, the various quarters of the city vying with each other in paying their tribute of respect to the venerable head of the Order. Flowers were strewn in his path, and pious Buddhists reaped a rich harvest of "merit" by making offerings to the Thathanabaing, and distributing food and drink at booths erected at intervals along the route. The demonstrations of welcome were so persistent that it took four hours for the procession to cover the distance of five miles from the Durbar pavilion to the Thathanabaing's Kyaung.

The reception accorded to the new incumbent only confirmed the results of the inquiry made by the Government before the Durbar, and left no room for doubt as to the feelings of the monks and laity on the subject. Nor is it often that public opinion in an Indian province is in such complete harmony with the dictates of political expediency. Serious loss of administrative power was involved in officially ignoring the Buddhist hierarchy of Upper Burma, and it was time to change this attitude, and to treat the Thathanabaing as responsible head of a widespread and deeply-rooted organization, which is closely interwoven with the daily life of nine-tenths of the people, and is cherished by them with boundless affection and reverence. Authorities differ in estimating the political influence of the Pôngyis. Bishop Bigandet (in 1858) knew of "no single instance where the Pôngyis as a body had interfered in affairs of State." It is certain, however, that in King Mindôn's reign royal edicts confiscating lands and transferring them to the national militia were withdrawn in deference to remonstrances by the Pôngyis, and in other matters also they occasionally acted as intermediaries between the rulers and the people. In the disturbed period following the annexation of Upper Burma in 1885 there were few risings of importance that were not originated or fomented by Pôngyis. The picture drawn

by a popular writer of the impeccable monks standing aloof and counselling non-resistance to the foreign invasion does more credit to his imagination than to his knowledge of recent history. Every district officer is aware how little the rules and precepts of the Order availed to restrain the monks, and how seriously the pacification of the country was retarded by their intrigues.

Enough has been said to make it clear that the Order is an institution of primary importance in Burma, and that the Government cannot afford to relinquish the traditional and convenient method of dealing with it through a central authority—namely, the Thathanabaing.

To Lord Curzon belongs the credit of closing the period of suspense which began after the death of King Thebaw's Thathanabaing in 1895. But although the provincial officials and the people of the country are almost unanimous in applauding the Viceroy's action, he has been taken severely to task in an "urgent communication" from a reverend missionary at Rangoon to the London organ of the Baptist sect. The writer protests against the recognition of a legal head of the Buddhist community "before whose mandates all must bow." But a perusal of the Sanad would have shown him that the operation of the Thathanabaing's mandates is limited to the Order of which he is the elected head, and is further limited by the ordinary laws of the land. Any Pôngyi who disapproves of his superior's mandates is, of course, at liberty to leave the Order. It is also objected that "no such policy has been pursued elsewhere in India." But there is no other province of India which is homogeneous in its religious creed, and in which that creed possesses a well-marked hierarchy. The reverend missionary erroneously supposes that Buddhist monks, "in civil affairs are subject to a body of laws different from our codified civil law." In civil affairs, as distinct from the internal affairs of their Order, they are entirely amenable to the ordinary civil and criminal law, and the religious code which governs the internal polity of the

Order is enforceable only in so far as it is in harmony with that law. But the action of Government is further stigmatized in general terms as "an alliance with the head of an alien religion," and as affording a "strong buttress to non-Christian faith, by giving it a prestige and power before the country which could never have been obtained otherwise." The Buddhists, it is said, "recognise it as a quasi-establishment of Buddhism as the State religion of Upper Burma." The *Baptist* newspaper's comment on the matter is that Buddhism will gain a new cohesion and Christian missions will become still more difficult.

The controversy as to the right policy of a Christian Government with regard to the various creeds of British India is one of long standing and many vicissitudes. Of late years there has been a lull, and it would indeed be unfortunate if the recognition of the Thathanabaing should be used as a pretext for reopening the discussion. In annexing Upper Burma, the British Government promised that the religion of the people would be respected, and that their ecclesiastical dignitaries would be recognised. It was not objected that this announcement was a departure from the established policy of religious neutrality. Lord Dufferin's promise in 1886 seemed to be merely an application of the principle of toleration to the newly conquered province. It is true that there was a regrettable lapse in the fulfilment of the promise from 1895 onwards; but that is hardly a valid reason for repudiating it altogether, as the missionary writer would appear to suggest.

The Order of Mendicants is no doubt the strongest bulwark of the Buddhist faith in Burma. It was Bishop Bigandet's "deliberate opinion" that, "if the Pôngyis' Order were to give way and crumble to the dust, the vital energies of that false creed would soon be weakened and completely paralyzed." But the missionaries are mistaken if they suppose that the vitality of the Order depends on the hierarchy of which the Thathanabaing is the head. Lower Burma has been without a hierarchy ever since

it was wrested from the kingdom of Ava—fifty years ago in the case of Pegu, and eighty years as regards Arakan and Tenasserim. But there is no indication that the Order is decaying or losing its hold on the people in Lower Burma. In any case, the justice and expediency of the measure being clear, the Government could not hesitate to recognise the Thathanabaing merely because the continued existence of a Buddhist hierarchy may conceivably be an obstacle to the proselytizing work of Christian missions.

# THE SERVICES OF THE TURKS IN JOINING THE CIVILIZATIONS OF EUROPE AND ASIA.\*

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE mere name of Professor Chavannes is now a guarantee that his Chinese work is of the highest quality, and already he has established for himself a reputation almost as intrinsically mighty as that of Stanislas Julien, apart from the extrinsic advantages to him which come of more recent and improved sinological methods. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1899, I brought up the subject of Early Turks to the point where Dr. Hirth of Munich (now of Columbia University) had given M. Radloff the benefit of his careful Chinese researches. Not content with German aid, the renowned Russian "Turkologue" has now set M. Chavannes to work, and it must be at once admitted that several very significant advances have been made by the French professor. The present publication concerns more especially the Western Turks, touching which important "link" between Europe and Asia I published a paper and a reign-list in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October last. On p. 364 of that article, I give a table of the more definite Western *Khagans*, beginning with Sêh-ti-mi. One of the most interesting and effective things in M. Chavannes' present invaluable sketch is the absolute clearness with which he brings out Professor Marquart's ingenious identification of this Chinese form with the Ištāmi Khagan of the newly-discovered Turkish inscriptions, and with the Stembis Khan of the Greek authors. This is, to use the cant expression of the day, an "epoch-making" discovery of the very first magnitude. Marquart is also to be complimented on having identified the Arab *kun-ful* with

\* "Sbornik Trudoff Orchonskoi Ekspeditsyi" ("Collection of the Works of the Orchon Expedition"), Part VI., being the "Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux." By Edouard Chavannes. Price 6s.

the Turkish title *kul-çur*, spelt by the Chinese *küeh-chüeh*, and still pronounced in Corea *kyöl-chöl*, according to definite etymological rules. Another very excellent feature in M. Chavannes' work is the painstaking sagacity with which he has rooted out the identity of innumerable place-names in the Pamir, Oxus, and Hindoo Kush regions. A splendid chart illustrates this part of his subject. Dr. Eitel once did good yeoman service in this direction; but, unfortunately, his "Handbook to Chinese Buddhism" leaves it doubtful in most cases upon what sources he drew when giving us the Sanskrit, Persian, Ephthalite, or Tibetan equivalent for any particular Chinese place-name. We feel, however, that we can thoroughly trust Professor Chavannes; truth, and proved truth only, where obtainable, is his motto. If he occasionally (and it be not presumptuous even to hint at so much) goes wrong, it is manifestly because he does not happen to have personally applied his luminous intelligence to the whole and immediate elucidation of that particular point; or, perhaps, because he has been "hypnotized" by an instinctive awe of great names; or, again, perhaps because he wishes to open a voluntary retreat for his oversanguine colleagues.

At the end of my short paper on the Western Turks (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1903), the editor casually mentioned that a continuation of the already in part published history of the Turks (in English) was at the disposal of anyone who might feel inclined to print it. The part thus offered, with 800 explanatory notes, is practically an English version (though, of course, very inferior to the French) of the fascicule under review, now issued by the Russian Academy. Should any of our millionaires feel inclined to strike out a new protection line, and make a fresh bid for cosmopolitan immortality, the *manes* of the Turks and the Avars will be duly grateful, and I shall be able to "discharge" my manuscript. At present the honours are pretty equally divided between Professor Hirth and Professor Chavannes; Russia, since Dr. Bretschneider's

death, is either sinologically weak, or is generating steam for future efforts. England is nowhere—a mere dumping-ground. At the same time, I must observe that some slight attempt *has* been made to conduct a ray of sweetness and light into the unsympathetic British brain, as will be seen from the list of (mostly unread) publications at foot.\*

M. Chavannes' treatment of his subject is as perfect as our present state of knowledge permits. To a large extent it may be said (and, indeed, he practically says it) that, as translators of Chinese, the (old) Jesuits, Deguignes, Rémusat, Pauthier, etc., are now rather obsolete—*i.e.*, the condition of Chinese knowledge amongst Europeans was such at the time they wrote that all their work needs thorough overhauling, which means that the easiest course is to do it all over again; for cobbling up old errors simply leads to condoning error. Deguignes, however, is distinctly entitled, plagiarist in detail though he was, to great credit for having conceived the grandiose *idea* of a general history of the Turkish (*i.e.*, Hun) races. The utmost pains have been taken by Professor Chavannes to verify all doubtful passages, to collate parallel or conflicting texts, to trace out routes, to sift evidence, to index all proper names, and so on. The excellent indexing, in fact, is half the battle. His general methods secure to him our complete confidence. He is very much clearer in his marshalling of evidence than Dr. Hirth, and far less speculative in his judgments.

\* "The Hiung-nu and the Tunguses." A series of papers in the *China Review*, vols. xix.-xxi., 1890-1892.

"A Thousand Years of the Tartars." Sampson Low and Co., 1894.

"The Origin of the Turks." *Academy*, December, 1895; *Historical Review*, July, 1896, and January, 1900.

"Progress in Turkish Discoveries." *China Review*, vol. xxiv.; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1899.

"Orkhon Inscriptions." *Shanghai Asiatic Society's Journal*, 1897.

"Early Turks" (with 500 notes). *China Review*, vols. xxiv., xxv.

"Lob Nor and Khotan." *Anglo-Russian Society's Journal*, 1903.

Various papers on the Wuh-kih, Early Manchus, Nüchêns, Coreans, Cathayans, Tangut, Khokand, Nepaul, etc. *China Review*; *Chinese Recorder*; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1890-1902.

Probably M. Chavannes unconsciously owes as much to the admirable and natural lucidity of the beautiful French language as Dr. Hirth is unwittingly handicapped by the inborn fogginess of his own somewhat drowsy and convoluted tongue. Hence we do not lay undue stress upon this minor point of *technique*, but offer to both distinguished professors our respectful words of encouragement, assuring them that, no matter what they may do in the same line, in future at least one admiring eye will always be upon them, and that at the same time a chaste corrective will always be kept in pickle in case they stray too far out of the path of sinological virtue, and swallow novelties too credulously.

There is one important point upon which, having paid the above unreserved compliments, I would venture to hazard a serious word of criticism. M. Chavannes, following the lead of Deguignes and Gibbon, accepts the identity of the Jou-jan (or "Geougen") with the Avars. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902, I submitted proofs that this could not possibly be the case, nor can I believe that the combined labours of sinologists, turkologues, and Arabo-Persian scholars will ever succeed in establishing the position—at least on the evidence now available. I notice that Professor Bury, in his new edition of Gibbon, has accepted some of my emendations concerning the Turks: in any future edition it would be well also to ponder this point of the Geougen. The Chinese histories, which are, so far as is known, absolutely the sole authority in the archives of the world for the very existence of the Jou-jan at any stage whatever, give us the whole record of that ruling clan or tribe, starting from the moment when the son of a captured slave (nationality doubtful) gave that name to his marauding band (*circa* A.D. 300), right down to the day when all the last survivors of the same ruling race were massacred in a body, about the year 555-556. During the whole of this period there is not a single mention of one solitary Jou-jan (not to speak of a band of them) having once set his foot, except as a refugee for a few weeks, west of the



limits which now bound the Chinese Empire; on the contrary, we are told in the plainest language that occupying the Ili and Balkash region was the powerful Hiung-nu\* (*i.e.*, Turk) State of Yüeh-pan, immediately descended from those imperial Hiung-nu who had been broken up by China 500 years earlier—a State much farther advanced in civilization than that of the Jou-jan, and a State still in A.D. 450 described by the Chinese frontier provincials as being ruled by a *shen-yü*—*i.e.*, by a monarch yet bearing the ancient Hiung-nu imperial title. This title was seen 500 years still later in the *jennuye*, or ruler of the Ghuz Turks (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1904, p. 139). In the year 448 these Yüeh-pan in the West even endeavoured to join the Toba (a kind of Mongol) Emperor of North China in the East in attacking the intermediate Jou-jans, with whom the Yüeh-pan had then for some years been at war. Meanwhile, embassies from almost every Turkestan State between the Caspian Sea and the river Indus had sent frequent missions to North China; in not one single instance are the Jou-jan mentioned in any connection whatever with reference to these Turkestan, Caspian, Caucasus, or Indian missions. Many of these Turkestan and High Asian States came occasionally with the Eptal and Persian envoys, and many are even stated to be, or to have been, under Eptal supremacy; not once does any one of the envoys even mention the Jou-jan, nor is it ever once stated that any one of these missions entered the country of, ran foul of, or even saw the face of a Jou-jan. The only instances where States on the eastern fringe of Turkestan, and at the same time on the western fringe of China—hundreds of miles east of any place known to Greeks, Persians, or Armenians—are mentioned in connection with the Jou-jan are those in which (1) a Jou-jan governor of (modern) Hami, (2) Jou-jan intrigues in (modern) Turfan, and (3) a Jou-jan flying raid, *viâ* Kokonor, upon

\* Hiung-nu is the only generic or race word embracing in one the ideas of "Huns, Scythians, Turks, Ouigours, and Tartars."

Khoten, are casually alluded to in connection with mere passing events. Even with regard to the Eptals of Balkh, with whom the western branch of the later Jou-jan formed humble marriage alliances in the sixth century, communicating with them by way of Issyk-kul and (modern) Kokand, it is nowhere said that a Jou-jan hostile force ever entered Eptal dominions, or that at any time any Jou-jan ruler or general ever had the least particle of political influence in Eptal territory ("Eptal territory," roughly, means the Oxus, Pamir, Hindu Kush, and Indus areas). Certainly, one of the histories of the Southern Chinese dynasties, which never had any serious political relations with Turkestan at all, mentions in 520 a mysterious country called *Hwah* (never previously or afterwards once alluded to by that name in any history, Northern or Southern), which is manifestly either part of, or the whole of, Eptal; and this same Southern history adds that, 200 years previously (A.D. 300), the progenitors of these Hwah, before they migrated west, were a branch of the (modern) Turfan people, and *had been* under Jou-jan supremacy; but, if we can place any reliance at all upon this apocryphal account, which, moreover, contains absurdities (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1902, p. 155), it simply strengthens my general position. Other histories mention that Hwoh (the War-wâlîz of the Arabs) was the Eptal capital, and this fact is the probable origin of the whole hearsay story. *Both* Chinese characters are to this day in Corea pronounced *hwal* (lower tone series), which gives us precisely *war* or *wâlî*; and even the Chinese sometimes call the city in question *A-hwan* (practically the present Kundûz). From the beginning of Eptal migration, in B.C. 200, there had always remained a number of Eptal tribes on the Chinese frontiers, as was also the case with the Hiung-nu and Turks.

Then, again, as to the spread of the Jou-jan power East; the Jou-jan are once or twice mentioned in connection with the wide-spread Cathayan (Kitan) tribes lying between (modern) Manchuria and the Jou-jan; and in connection

with the Chinese adventurers who were endeavouring to form an independent State in the region of (modern) Peking: they are even once mentioned as intriguing with (modern) Liao Tung, in order to destroy one of the Cathayan tribes called *Ti-tou-kan*. But at that time the early Manchus (then called Wuh-kih) had not yet come down southwards into Liao Tung, which, with its capital (modern) Mukden, then belonged to the northernmost of the three Korean States. The Jou-jan history never once names the Wuh-kih; the Wuh-kih history (see *Chinese Recorder*, November, 1893) never once names the Jou-jan: in short, there is nothing to show that any single Jou-jan ever saw any single Wuh-kih, and in any case the powerful Cathayans lay between the two. To sum up, the Jou-jan from first to last were confined to (modern) Mongolia, to the total exclusion of Turkestan, Tibet, Tsaidam, Little Bucharia, North and South Manchuria, Lake Baikal, Liao Tung, Corea, and China proper; they were exceptionally ignorant; so dirty that both the Chinese and the Yüeh-pan were disgusted with them; totally unacquainted with writing; never possessed a town, in the usually accepted sense; and are never mentioned as having gained a decisive battle, except perhaps in connection with the raids of their north-westerly neighbours the High Carts (Tölös, or early Ouigours). Being hemmed in west and north-west by tribes akin to the Turks (Yüeh-pan and Ouigours), it is almost impossible that the Greeks, Persians, or Armenians could have even heard of them, except through the Eptals, over whom the Jou-jan never exercised any power, and who would, of course, call them by a name *used by* Eptals.

I have set forth thus uncompromisingly the exact situation, so as to dispose once for all of the serious miscalculation of Deguignes, who has, of course, misled the unsuspecting Gibbon. The present work of M. Chavannes is dated 1903; but I am well aware that the manuscript was given to the Russian Academy in 1900; so that, even if M. Chavannes had been able to, and had done me the honour to, con-

sider the positions advanced by me in 1902, he could not have taken notice of them whilst the leisurely Muscovite academicians were daily expected to print and publish his manuscript. But if he ever finds time, amongst his multifarious and brilliant studies, to apply himself with the same energy to the Jou-jan that he has done with such conspicuously successful results in the case of the Western Turks, I feel sure that he will in the end come round to, or at least endeavour to disprove, my opinion.

Meanwhile, as the obstinacy of error is in the ratio of the erring man's renown, I proceed to examine one by one the "evidences" produced by M. Chavannes in support of Deguignes. These appear to me to be either no relevant evidences at all, or to be evidences which militate against the view of Deguignes rather than for it.

1. Menander, in describing Valentine's mission to the Turks in 576, says he passed through a Scythian people, north of the Aral, subordinate to "Anagai, King of the Utigurs." M. Chavannes remarks in a note: *Ce nom paraît être le même que celui d'Anakoui, le roi des Joan-joan (Jou-jan), qui s'était tué en 552 après avoir été vaincu par les Turcs. Cette remarque est de Hirth.* What is the real use of connecting the name of an Eastern Jou-jan man, who died on the Chinese frontier in 552, with that of the King of the (unidentified) Utigurs spoken of by a Greek 4,000 miles away to the west in 576? During the thirty-two years of his chequered reign, Anakwei's presence on the frontiers of China is signalized year by year. At first he shared that rule with his relative, bearing the apparently Hindu name of Brahman, Brahman being west and he east, Brahman alone having any relations with the Eptals. Hindu names were not uncommon then, even in China, and the Jou-jan are distinctly stated to have shared Buddhist or Brahman influence with China and High Asia generally. For a long time Anakwei was a fugitive, and a suppliant for the Toba Emperor's favour. For nearly 100 years past the Jou-jan had lost all authority over even Turfan, and

even over Hami. Moreover, there were plenty of contemporary Turks and Tobas whose names began with "Ana": for instance, there was Anahung, contemporary of Anakwei, and Anachī, mentioned by M. Chavannes himself; there were several others whose names began with "Ano" or "Anou." Coincidences of sound are valueless without coincidences of fact. Supposing it were a fact that an early edition of James the Second of England were known to have galloped round the Sea of Aral with a lady in 576, we should have been more than equally justified in coupling Anakwei's name with that of "Anne Hyde." Such an identification recalls Dr. Hirth's suggestion that Attila's relative Hernax was probably King Huh-ni-ki or Huh-ni-sz of Sogd, the supposed final *ki* or *sz* not being either *ki* or *sz* at all, but a grammatical particle *i*, meaning "already."\*

2. M. Chavannes, after pointing out that the so-called Avars of Europe were the "False Avars," asks, "Who, then, were the True Avars?" and to this he replies: "The Joan-joan" (Jou-jan). The following are his reasons:—Priscus states that, between 461 and 465, the True Avars drove west the Sibirs, who, in their turn, drove other

\* I may here allude to a convincing instance of the traps that waylay the translator from Chinese. M. Chavannes alludes to a Turkish King of Kapisa called *Shi-fu-pih*, or, by a later history, *Tai-shih-pih*. Neither name is correct. The words *shī* and *tai* both mean "hereditary," and, as the name of the second T'ang Emperor was *Li Shi-min*, the later history *throughout* always replaces the word *shī* by the word *tai*, in order to avoid the *tabu*. The character *shih* has a tiny stroke added to the character *fu*, and a copyist might easily mistake one for the other, just as with the character *k'in* in the foreign word *tegin*, which is nearly always written one stroke short, as *tēh*. The real meaning is "the kings all bore the *hereditary* designation of *Shih-pih*." This word *shih-pih* also occurs in the title of the Turkish King of Kutch, and even one of the great Turkish supreme Khagans was called *Shi-pih*. This same curious *tabu* is observable in the name of another Turkish Khagan *K'i-min*, who was styled in the later histories *K'i-jen* to avoid the second syllable of the T'ang Emperor's name. *Min* and *jēn* both mean "people." It is by no means impossible that this word *Shi-pih* may have some connection with the presumably Turkish eponymous word *Sibir*.

tribes upon Constantinople. Again, Theophylactus Simocatta says that the True Avars, reputed the first of Scythic nations, were conquered by the Turks, and the remains of them fled, some to the Taugats (Chinese), and others to the Moukri, *vraisemblablement le peuple de race tongouse que les Chinois appelaient alors Mou-ki, et qu'ils appellèrent plus tard Mo-ho.*

Now, firstly, if the True Avars drove west the Sibirs, why should not the Yüeh-pan (whose name, moreover, is susceptible of change, under the very rules so often cited by M. Chavannes, into E-var) be, *primâ facie*, the Avars, at least as much as their eastern neighbours the Jou-jan? Secondly, as no Jou-jan force is ever stated to have gone west of (modern) Tarbagatai, how could the Jou-jan have (as "True Avars") driven the Sibirs west, unless the Sibirs were themselves the Yüeh-pan, who are by the Chinese distinctly located in the Balkash region? Otherwise, how did the Jou-jan jump over the Yüeh-pan? In 448 we find the Yüeh-pan, after a dozen years' war with the Jou-jan, sending a mission to North China to arrange with the Toba Emperors (of North China only) a common attack on the Jou-jan, and the narrative goes on:—"After that, they sent from time to time other missions to Court with tribute." In 449 the Tobas thus allied inflicted such a crushing defeat upon the Jou-jan Khagan that "from this time he was isolated and weak, skulking far away on the remote frontiers"—*i.e.*, the frontiers of the Chinese world. In 458 the same Khagan, who thus could not have skulked very far, received another crushing defeat in the Orkhon region, 150,000 carts being employed to carry the Chinese stores; the Khagan "never dared to *return south* again," and died in 464. These facts seem effectually to dispose of M. Chavannes' interpretation of Priscus' words. The Yüeh-pan are never again anywhere mentioned. On the other hand, the Jou-jan now *for the first time* imitatively adopt Chinese reign styles, and remain for another century in close relations with North China. The Yüeh-pan

*must* have gone West. It is true that, three centuries later, after the crushing by China of the Western Turks, the T'ang dynasty styled part of the province, where the Yüeh-pan *used to be*, by that name; but that fact is immaterial to the present issue, for there were also the provinces of "India" and "Ta-ts'in" (Europe) established in the Oxus region during the momentary direct rule of China in "Western Turkey."

Secondly, as to Simocatta, it is perfectly clear, both from Chinese and Western sources, that the Turks (once Hiung-nu) practically conquered or overlorded every nation or tribe all the way from the Chinese borders to Russia, after their adoption of the national patronymic "Türk," and after the successful rebellion against their masters the Jou-jan in 550-552. That the Western half of them pursued the True Avars west seems, from Western accounts, perfectly true; but there is nothing in either Chinese or Western evidence to show that such True Avars were the Jou-jan; whilst there is abundant Chinese evidence to show that they *could not* have been so. On the other hand, there is nothing in either Chinese or Western evidence to show that such True Avars were *not* the Yüeh-pan, and there is *some* good Chinese evidence to suggest that they were; for even the Chinese describe the Yüeh-pan as being the first Scythic (Hiung-nu) nation in importance—one imperially styled, and one far superior in refinement and civilization to the Jou-jan. That the remains of the Jou-jan, like the remains of the True Avars, fled to the Taugats (Chinese) is amply supported by the evidence I have already cited in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January last (p. 142), but that fact affords no reason for assuming that the True Avars were the Jou-jan. What Simocatta meant by saying that the rest of the True Avars fled to the "Moukri" there is as yet no evidence to show; but it seems absolutely certain, from what I have adduced, that the Wuh-kih (Early Manchus), which M. Chavannes transcribes "Mou-ki," could have had no relations whatever

with the Jou-jan refugees, even if there *had* been any such "other" refugees, and even if the Jou-jan had been the True Avars. As I have laid myself out to expose weak evidence, I leave no shred of it hanging on. The words Wuh-kih are simply the modern "mandarin" pronunciation of two characters still pronounced in Canton like the English *Mud-cut*. The later form Moh-hoh (Mo-ho) is still pronounced in Canton like the English *Mood-hot*. Both forms clearly stand for one and the same sound, or approximately the same sound influx; for it was precisely during the Toba rule that the Northern Chinese language was being corrupted by centuries of Tartar admixture, and that the true ancient Chinese speech was being more and more relegated to the South. Hence it follows, as I have proved at length elsewhere, that by a curious historical roll of Fortune's wheel, it is in Canton and Corea that we now always find the best etymological solutions for early syllables. *Mul-kih* and *Mal-kal* are to this day the Corean pronunciations of the Chinese characters borrowed by them 1,000 or more years ago, and the treaty port of Che-*mul*-po actually contains one of the syllables in question. All Canton final *t* become final *l* in Corea without any exceptions. What the Manchus of those days were really exactly called we can only guess—probably something like *Morkir* or *Börgar*; and still more probably this imaginary word is a Mongolic, Sien-pi, or Tungusic word signifying "eastwards" or "pig-keepers," or in some other way indicating the site and habits of the Early Manchus. The sound *Mou-kih* would not be at all an unlikely one if there were other evidence to support it, but without such evidence the English word "*murky* men" has just as much right to be suggested; and if M. Chavannes gives the "mandarin" sound for *kih* or *ki*, he ought also to give the "mandarin" initial to *wuh* or *wu*, and not make it *mu*, unless he possesses special evidence that in this one place it *was* pronounced "mu."

Hence I must record my disagreement *in toto* with every



line and every word of the following important conclusion:—  
*Ces brèves indications tendent à faire identifier les véritables Avars avec les Joan-joan, qui furent en effet de grands conquérants vers le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui étaient regardés comme les plus redoutables des peuples barbares de l'Asie, et qui enfin, après avoir été vaincus par les Turcs, se réfugièrent en partie, de 552 à 555 chez les Chinois gouvernés par la dynastie tongouse des Wei occidentaux.* The Jou-jan were ignorant raiders of filthy and bestial habits, and no permanent conquerors. It was towards the middle of the fifth century that the Jou-jan received their most crushing checks at Toba hands. For 200 years both North and South China had been almost totally cut off from Central Asia, and the most redoubtable of the barbarians to "classic" or Southern China were the Tungus (*i.e.*, Tung-hu, or "Eastern Barbarian") family of Toba, themselves masquerading successfully as Emperors of North China. The *whole* of the remaining ruling clique of the Jou-jan took refuge with the Western Tobas, who basely surrendered them all to Turkish massacre. "Western Toba" cannot do double duty as Tabgatz *and* Moukri; in any case, Moukri has nothing to do with Wuh-kih, and the Russian sense of "Tungus" applies solely to Manchu tribes, totally different in habit and origin from the Sien-pi "Tung-hu." The majority of the tribes ruled by the Jou-jan were Hiung-nu (Turkish), and this always has been, and is, the case, whoever the supreme nominal ruler of Mongolia may be.

3. There is one other matter in which, apparently out of fulness of respect for his German colleague Hirth, M. Chavannes seems to be a trifle unsteady. Dr. Hirth's views on Ta-ts'in and Fuh-lin are well known, and doubtless Syria was as much Fuh-lin as any other Eastern part of the Roman and Byzantine Empires; but Fuh-lin certainly was not pre-eminently exclusively Syria, nor (most emphatically) had the word anything to do with the sound "Bethlehem."

The oldest name for any part of the later Ta-ts'in is Li-kien, or Lai-kon, which the *Shi Ki* (or earliest Chinese

history proper, 90 B.C.) states was north of Arsac (Parthia) : its position towards the Aral or Caspian is rendered all the more certain by its being coupled in that work with the well-established An-ts'ai, or, later, Land of the Alans. Dr. Hirth omits to quote this last important passage in his work on the Roman Orient, and in his *Shi Ki* extracts cited therein.

The next history is the *Han Shu*, which speaks of a State having Kipin (Kapisa) on its east, and *Li-kien* to its west. *Li-kien* is here coupled with T'iao-chi (Babylonia), so that here again we get a suggestion of Upper Euphrates, the Caspian, or Armenia. Dr. Hirth also omits this significant passage.

Next comes the *After Han Shu*, which (*i.e.*, the records forming which) first mentions Ta-ts'in by that name, and identifies it with the earlier *Li-kien*. In A.D. 97 a Chinese mission to Ta-ts'in got as far as the Euphrates, and in 120 some Western traders, entering China by way of Burma, said that they came from the "west of the sea," where Ta-ts'in also was. It is added that Parthia tried to obstruct and monopolize the silk trade between China and Ta-ts'in overland. The mention of King An-tun, by a second sea mission in A.D. 166, has justly led most European translators to suggest [Marcus or other of the] Antoninus [house], especially as the rulers of Ta-ts'in are stated to be elective. Thus China already then knew in a vague way that Ta-ts'in was approachable both by land and sea.

The *Wei Lioh* (about A.D. 220) makes it clear that Ta-ts'in was west of the Great Sea, and also west of T'iao-chi (Babylonia), which was in turn west of Parthia. It is explained that a Ta-ts'in sea trade with Parthian ports sprang up because Ta-ts'in coveted Chinese silk in order to unravel and re-weave it in their own fashion. Then follows another important sentence, which Dr. Hirth again unaccountably omits : "North-west of K'ang-kü (Samarcand) are . . . and An-ts'ai, otherwise called A-lan, bordering to the west on Ta-ts'in," touching which country the author

goes on specifically to state that "our information is very vague."

The *Tsin Shu* says that in 284 Cochin China and Ta-ts'in sent offerings to China together.

The *Wei Shu* (about A.D. 570) says that the old T'iao-chi is now part of Persia, and that it offers a circuitous sea route to Ta-ts'in, which lies between two seas, and trades by sea with South-West China (Yün Nan). The name Arsac (Parthia) now only refers to a petty State, having Persia on its west and Samarcand on its north: it probably coincides with the Media-Atropene State to which, according to Mommsen, the last Arsac fled when Ardashir founded the new Sassanide power. This would be about Merv; but, wherever it was, "from the western limits of Arsac, following the sea curve, you can also reach Ta-ts'in."

The *Liang Shu* mentions a sea trade between Ta-ts'in, Parthia, India, and Cochin China, but adds that few persons from this last region ever seem to reach Ta-ts'in; however, in 226 a Ta-ts'in trader reached the Southern Court (Nanking).\*

With the seventh century an entirely new name, Fuh-lin (the old Ta-ts'in), comes into vogue, undoubtedly through the conquests of the Turks, who, for a century back, had

\* The following extracts from vol. ii. of Mommsen's *Roman Provinces* are not without significance. Page 1, note:—"The conception that the Roman and the Parthian Empires were two great States, standing side by side, and indeed the only ones in existence, dominated the whole Roman East, particularly the frontier provinces." Page 13:—"After the battle with the Parthians, in which King Antiochus Sidetes fell, the [Greek] Syrian kings did not again seriously attempt to assert their rule beyond the Euphrates. Both coasts of the Persian Gulf were in possession of the Parthians." Page 19:—"The determining influence of Rome consequently reached as far as the Caucasus and the western course of the Caspian Sea. This involved an overlapping [with Parthia]." Page 38:—"Concerning the organization of matters in the principalities on the Caucasus we know nothing; but as they are subsequently reckoned among the Roman client-States, probably at that time [40-20 B.C.] the Roman influence prevailed here also." [See the remarks upon Ta-ts'in and Fuh-lin in my papers on the Avars and Franks, and on the Western Turks, above cited.]

then had regular land intercourse with Constantinople. The name first appears in the *Sui Shu*, where it is stated that Fuh-lin is 4,500 *li* (1,500 miles) north-west of Persia (*i.e.*, the Persian capital). The *T'ang Shu* next mentions it in 625, when the King of Kao-ch'ang (Turfan) presented the Emperor with the earliest "pet-dogs from Fuh-lin" ever heard of in China. In speaking of India, the *T'ang Shu* says (retrospectively) that the Emperor of the preceding Sui dynasty had sent an envoy named P'ei Kū to try and get through overland to the West, but that P'ei Kū failed to reach either India or Fuh-lin. I have already mentioned (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1903, p. 363) how P'ei Kū gave us three distinct roads to the West Sea, one by the West Turks and Fuh-lin; another, *farther south*, by Persia; and a third *viâ* the Indus. The same history mentions (also retrospectively) that, between the death of K'u-sah-wo (Khu-sra-va, or Chosroës, in 628) and the accession of his daughter (Borán, in 631), his son Shī-li (Sirouë) reigned for a year; Sirouë's son, on his father's death, *taking refuge in Fuh-lin*. In the face of all the above positive standard evidence, it is impossible to deny that Fuh-lin, even if it occasionally meant Syria, most certainly included the Caucasus and Black Sea regions, if not the whole of Asia Minor. In the year 739 one of the Turkish Kings of Kapisa actually bore the patronymic of "Fuh-lin," which perhaps indicates his mother's nationality. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902, pp. 356-358, I have given full later evidence, all tending to show that Li-kien, Ta-ts'in, and Fuh-lin, always meant, in a vague way, the almost unknown Greek, Roman, Byzantine, or Frank power predominant for the time in Europe—*i.e.*, it was *not* a Persian, *not* an Arab, *not* an African, *not* a Tartar or Turk power; and, no idea of specially separating the Syrian from the Romano-Greek, or, as we should say, European element, ever crossed the Chinese mind, which conceived nothing more definite than a fair, tall, manly race, sharing the virtues of the conquering

Chinese element of Ts'in (Shen Si province, where the capital was); whence the complimentary name Ta-ts'in, or "Great Ts'in," was given to it. Consequently, I am unable to understand how it is that M. Chavannes, almost absolutely throughout his work, follows Hirth's mistaken lead, and deliberately translates "Fuh-lin" as "Syria" pure and simple; more especially as he himself, on the authority of the T'ang Shu (p. 170) shows Fuh-lin to be over 4,000 *li* north-west of Persia, and (p. 256) pronounces it to have meant, in that identical passage, "Roman Orient." Whether, as I have suggested, Li-kien really meant "Hyrcan," and Fuh-lin really meant "Fereng," is, of course, still an open question, and I have never endeavoured to "force the pace." Possibly Lai-kon may be *Ἕλληκων*; but it is necessary to read what Mommsen says about the earliest colonial use of the word "Greek."

It is singular that while the Turkish inscriptions give us so many proper names by which we can identify Chinese, Tibetan, and Tartar persons and places, they mention so few by which we can ever guess at Greek, Persian, or Eptal proper names. The explanation probably is that at the date of the inscriptions (by the Northern Turks, eighth century), the doughty deeds of Stembis Khan in the West (sixth century) had already become mere tradition to the ignorant nomads; the Turkish (Aramæan) written character not having been invented before the Nestorians came to the Far East (seventh century); the West Turks having been quite ignorant of written records; and the North or East Turks having from the first had no intimate knowledge of West Turk doings in Russia, Turkey, and the Black Sea—Caspian regions (as we now call them). For the same reason we find no Turkish mention of the Avars. The "Apar-apurim" of the inscriptions is a doubtful reading of Thomsen's, not sanctioned by Radloff, who gives "Par-Purim." At present there is no evidence to show what people this was; possibly "Fars," or "Persians," or even Eptals.

I confine my criticisms for the present to these two main points of the Avars and Ta-ts'in, touching which I feel sure that M. Chavannes will yet succeed in giving us more light. In pursuing these inquiries, it is of the utmost importance not to travel one yard beyond the evidence. Theorizing and generalizing are all very well and useful in their place, but they should be rigidly excluded from statements of fact; or, at all events, should be "ear-marked" as imaginative, as distinct from positive, matter.

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Touching the meaning of the Russian word *Nyemets*, applied to the Germans, I find that in the year 1254 the Chinese history of the Mongol conquests speaks of the Hungarians as the "*Ma-cha-r* tribe," and of the Germans as the "*Nieh-mi-sz* tribe"; but, as to the opinions I expressed on p. 148 of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January last, I have just received from M. Sergius Syromyatnikoff, editor of the *Novaya Vremya*, the following important corrections:

"The old Russian *nyemii* means, not only 'dumb,' but also 'unintelligible of speech.' Thus, in a translation of Isaiah (xxv. 6), dated 1047: *yasn bendet yazik nyemüich* = 'clear will be the language of the unintelligible' ['the tongue of the dumb shall sing,' is the English version—E. H. P.]. Again, in the *Perm Annals* for 1091, we read: *Tam je i Pechera, tot yazik nyem* = 'There are also the Pechera, whose tongue is unintelligible.' The word *nyemtsi* was applied, not only to Germans, but to all foreigners, as appears from an old translation of the Byzantine 'Book of Extracts': *Pereskok priide iz nyemetsš* = 'A deserter came over from the foreigners.' The first instance of the word *Nyemec* being applied to Germans is found in Nestor's (*i.e.*, our oldest) chronicle, under the year 987: *Idyëte paki v Nyemči* = 'Go again to the Germans.' In the treaty of peace concluded in 1195 between Novgorod and the German traders of Wisby, the word occurs thrice for 'Germans.' As you see from the 'Book of Extracts,'

the word *nyemets* was common to the Southern as well as to the Eastern and Western Slavs. In Bohemia (Czech) we have *němý*, 'dumb,' and *Němec*, 'German.' No doubt the word *nyemets* came to the Turks from the Balkan Slavs, and to the Hungarians from the Western Slavs, because the Slavs dwelt between the Germans and Hungarians on the one hand and the Turks on the other; both in Hungarian and Turkish there are many borrowed Slav words."

With reference to the above, it is for Russian scholars to settle this question amongst themselves. I will simply add that Dr. Bretschneider (*N. China Br. R. As. Soc. Journ.*, vol. x., p. 161) also cites Nestor, but he puts him a century later; and he also shows how the learned Dahl shared the views, given above, of M. Syromyatnikoff, which, however, Bretschneider himself disapproved, as I have already stated. I would venture to suggest that "the inhabitants of the river *Niemen*" may possibly have led to a *jeu-de-mots*, or a slang "compromise" with the semi-opprobrious word "dumb fellows," *barbaroi*, or "furriners"—a shade lower than "foreigners." This matter scarcely touches the present subject of Western Turks, but as the "Mongols" who invaded Russia in 1250, just as the West Turks did in 550, were largely recruited from Ouigour and other Turks, and the whole question is bound up with Marco Polo's travels, I may as well state M. Syromyatnikoff's views for him here, in order that "justice may be done."

## A RECENT TRIP TO THE ANCIENT RUINS OF KAMBOJA.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. E. GERINI.

### I. LEAVE THE NEW FOR THE OLD CAPITAL OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA.

TOWARDS the middle of December, 1902, the weather at Hā-nôi, which had so far been exceedingly pleasant, changed to an uninterrupted series of rainy and foggy days of winter-like aspect, which betokened the reverse of pleasure for any intended trip in the country. The result was that I had to give up, with the greatest regret, the long-cherished project of visiting the homes of several native tribes, and seeing a few places of historical interest on the Lower Black River. Bad weather continuing, I was compelled, with several colleagues of the Hā-nôi Oriental Congress, to abandon as well a contemplated excursion to the famous Hā-lōng Bay, as the thick mist and continuous rain would make it about as picturesque and poetical as a duck-pond. This altered our plans so far as Tonkin was concerned, and determined us to seek for fresh fields and pastures new in more congenial climes. A tour to the famed ancient ruins of Kamboja, which had been talked of for some days previously, was then immediately decided upon.

Early on the morning of December 19 we were off by rail, bound for Hāi-p'hōng, the present-day seaport of Hā-nôi; and after spending a pleasant afternoon there, visiting several friends and seeing the few sights of the brand-new town, dating from 1885, which has sprung up through French enterprise out of the marshes surrounding the old French concession, we found ourselves comfortably installed on board the *Gironde*, of the Messageries Maritimes, and steamed out of harbour next morning at daybreak. The



north-east monsoon, blowing in full force, and with its accompaniment of mists and choppy seas, quickened our passage to Turān (Tourane), whose splendid land-locked harbour we entered on the 21st. Here we were joined by other colleagues of the Congress of Orientalists of Hā-nôi, who had preceded us in order to visit the city of Hwē, the last Annamese capital, in that neighbourhood, and had just returned full of interesting, though not exactly wonderful, tales about its temples, palaces, and tombs. The dummy Emperor, still holding a semblance of a court and sovereign authority, was, however, absent at Hā-nôi, where we had a few days before caught a momentary glimpse of his juvenile but tame and almost effeminate features, at a soirée given by the ever-courteous Governor-General.

Thanks to the novel addition just received, our party now numbered some eight members of various nationalities, but all, alas! of the *sesso forte*, and mostly confirmed bachelors in the bargain. None of the fair sex who had figured so conspicuously at the Congress, and had taken so active a part in both its sittings and excursions, graced our path to the Khmēr ruins: all had departed and dispersed; but we were not to be altogether disappointed, as will appear from the sequel.

On the 22nd Kwī-ñôn (Quinhon) was reached, when better weather set in, and, after calling at P'han-rang Bay, we found ourselves back at Saigon on the 23rd, greeted by a cloudless sky and a not too fiery tropical sun.

## 2. SAIGON TO MYTHO.

On disembarking arrangements were at once made for our river trip into the heart of Kamboja. The *Battambang*, a fine steam-launch of the Messageries Fluviales de Cochinchine, was to leave for P'hnom-p'hēñ that very evening, going round by sea into the Mī-thō (Mytho) branch of the Mě-Khōng, and being due at Mī-thō early next morning. At P'hnom-p'hēñ we were to tranship into a smaller launch, doing the service from there to Battambang and back.

This was the last trip of the season the small launch would make through the Kambojan lake, the lowness of the water not permitting of any further navigation that way. We were glad to find ourselves just in the nick of time to take advantage of this last opportunity. One or two of our party, who had not yet had enough of the caprices of old Neptune, embarked that same evening by the roundabout route by the sea-coast, and had their enthusiasm somewhat damped by a few drenchings received while rounding that part of the Mē-Khōng delta situated between the southwestern outlet of the Saigon River and the Mī-thō mouths of the Mē-Khōng.

The rest of us, however, preferring to enjoy a peaceful sleep on terra-firma, passed the night tolerably well at Saigon, in one of its far from luxurious hotels (considerably inferior in comfort and appointments to the best ones at Hā-nôi), and took the train next morning for Mī-thō. The scenery on the way is mostly uninteresting, except through the Saigon suburbs, until Chōlōn is reached. This is a great industrial and commercial centre containing about 70,000 souls, almost entirely Chinese. Although dating from 1780 only, it has long become the chief paddy mart for Lower Cochinchina, as is fully evidenced by its numerous steam-rice-mills, whose lofty funnels, slightly hidden by the morning mists, make it appear almost like a city of shabby minarets.

Afterwards the route lies through monotonous plains of paddy-fields, interspersed at intervals with orchards, fruit-gardens, and inundated tracts. The frequent villages passed, however, and the country stations halted at, somewhat relieve the monotony, besides affording an idea of the landscape and giving one an insight into the life of one of the richest districts of Lower Cochinchina.

By 8 a.m. the snug little city of Mī-thō, another important trading centre and mart, was reached, and after a few minutes' ride in one of the fairly tidy local rikishas, we found ourselves on the river bank, the eastern branch of the Mē-Khōng, where the *Battambang* had arrived shortly

before, and was puffing impatiently, ready to resume her journey. We therefore started immediately, heading up river.

### 3. MYTHO TO P'HNOM-P'HĒÑ.

The scenery going up the Mě-Khōng is so uniform and so little redolent of interest as to need but little description. At first a succession of long islands, little different from one another, is passed, until an enormous one is reached, a Mesopotamia of no less than 100 miles in length, dividing the anterior or eastern branch of the Mě-Khōng from the western one up to their upper junction at P'hnom-p'hēñ. The country is flat and open as far as the eye can reach on either side, and calls for few remarks, except that of its wearying monotony of muddy waters, miry swamps, and the sombre green of the low tropical jungle and weedy undergrowth. Innumerable creeks branch off from both sides of the majestic river, meandering out of sight into the mysterious recesses of the interminable plain. Villages are by no means frequent on the banks, as these, being exposed to the violence of the flood and corroded by the impetus of the current, would not be safe. Hence most inhabited centres lie hidden a short distance up the creeks, and are seldom to be seen from the river. An exception occurs at Viñ-lōng (Vinh-long), where the mansion of the French Resident has been built near the river bank, to which access is had by a wharf leading to a fine avenue of peacock-flower trees (*Poinciana pulcherrima*). But the preference here given to the treacherous river stream, instead of the creek immediately adjoining, proved an unfortunate selection; for the voracious current at once began to gnaw at the river bank, and soon undermined the wharf, carrying away a good deal of the embankment, thus alarmingly reducing the distance between itself and the Resident's domicile to a perilous minimum, foreboding the engulfing, at no distant date, of that comfortable-looking structure. Viñ-lōng is the historic continuation of the ancient Khmēr *Long Hôr*, a name tra-

ditionally connected with the legend of an astrologer's shipwreck there.\* But it is now, like the rest of the delta, entirely Annamese in population, having passed from Khmër into Annamese hands so long ago as 1689, and it was only in 1862 that the territory was ceded to France.

After spending a pleasant night on board the comfortable launch, under way all the while, P'hnom-p'hēñ was reached at daybreak on December 25. The steamer moors right opposite the not unimposing building of the Grand Hôtel, situated a short distance away from the steep and high (at this season) bank of the river. On disembarking we entered the hotel, where comfortable rooms had been bespoken by telegraph for the whole of us. It turned out to be a well-appointed hotel, far more than one would expect in such an out-of-the-way place, especially after the not very edifying experience, in so far as lodgings are concerned, we had had at Saigon. But even in the most remote French settlements suitable provision is usually made for the material side of human nature, no less than for the intellectual and spiritual—as much as local circumstances will allow.

Arrangements were at once begun for the projected excursion, and we were glad to find that the proprietor of the hotel, accustomed to such business, was willing to take charge, on fairly reasonable terms, of all the catering for our party from the moment of our leaving the steamer at the lake border for the trip to the Angkor ruins and back again. A bargain was struck *ipso facto*, and we were thus very pleased to have been saved much trouble. The whole day was therefore at our disposal wherewith to visit the city and its "lions," as the launch bound for the lake was not to start until the next morning. A pleasant and not altogether uneventful day was accordingly spent in the Kambojan capital.

\* See Aymonier's "Textes Khmers," p. 40, for the Khmër version, and part i., p. 11, for a summary translation of it.

## 4. P'HNOM-P'HĒÑ, THE PRESENT KAMBOJAN CAPITAL.

To one accustomed to the gorgeous magnificence and finery of royal palaces and Buddhist temples in the modern capital of Siām, P'hnom-p'hĕñ does not, indeed, present anything really characteristic or peculiarly striking. Royal mansions and temples there are even far less imposing and less rich than those to be seen in a country town or princely residence of either Siām or Burmā. Before the advent of the French, P'hnom-p'hĕñ was a mere village, rising in the midst of unhealthy marshes. On the other hand, it is gratifying to notice the marked improvements introduced through the influence of the foreign protectors—in truth, *de facto* masters—of the country—*i.e.*, the French—who have since 1863 established themselves there, at first as mere would-be platonic patrons, but who have for the last twenty years held full sway. These improvements, begun in 1891, which marks the real birth-date of the new town, are at once apparent in the shape of roads, bridges, water-supply, and public buildings. Some of the structures, indeed, are of either doubtful or hybrid architecture, such as the unjustly famous Nāga bridge, a droll imitation of old Kambojan works of art, and still more so that æsthetical abomination, the bridge leading to the market, which introduces a ludicrous feature into the dull tameness of the scenery.

On the whole, if one notices with unstinted satisfaction some of these useful improvements, he feels, on the other hand, no less taken aback by the absence of that local colour he hoped to find, the last traces of which are, alas! fast vanishing from the place; for P'hnom-p'hĕñ is not only fast becoming—like the most far and out-of-the-way places are nowadays all over Indo-China—Europeanized, but has long been Annamized and Sinicized in the bargain. Chinese and Annamese do, in fact, wellnigh outnumber the Khmĕr population, and, outside the quarter of the city occupied by the princely residences, the number of Khmĕrs one meets

are fewer, in proportion, than the rest of Asiatics of multifarious nationalities.\* The shops are mostly kept by Chinese and Annamese, and the few industries there are and nearly the whole bulk of the trade are carried on by them. The Khmërs seem to rest content with self-destruction, and to ask for nothing more than to be left alone in the background. They are now confined to the more segregated parts of the country, away from the highways and turmoil of business, where they occupy themselves chiefly in elementary pursuits, such as paddy-field cultivation and the collection of forest produce, in which last task, however, the largest share is taken by the numerous semi-wild tribes of the woods. In the near future the Khmërs proper seem destined to disappear, and to become, like the dodo, extinct.

The invading wave of Annamese immigration, set in motion at first under the colour of disinterested assistance in repulsing the Siānese from the country during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and reinvigorated in the sequel by force of arms during the course of frequent incursions, is ever advancing higher and higher up the Më-Không Valley in the novel character of a pacific conquest achieved solely by thrift, industry, and perseverance. It has now reached to the very heart of Kamboja, and is fast enclosing the Great Lake within its folds. From that expanse of water to the sea the country on either bank of the great river looks more like a strip of Annamese territory than anything else. Nearly all trade, fishing, and boating is done by Annamese; the villages one sees while passing to and fro are almost entirely Annamese settlements. In order to discover the real and genuine Khmër, the degenerate heir of so much past grandeur, one has to throw his searchlight of X rays into the heart of the country, at some distance away from the river and its principal

\* The figures of the 1901 Census are, for P'hnom-p'hēñ City, 26,572 inhabitants, of which only 15,680 are Khmërs, and these are, for the most part, of very mixed blood.

branches, and far up inland from the delta, which is purely Annamese.

P'hnom-p'hēñ, though, from its strategic position at the junction of four branches of the river, an undoubtedly very ancient settlement, has been but at rare and short intervals the capital of Kamboja. It has now continued in this capacity since 1866, when the seat of power was transferred thither from Udong (1619-1866) by the present reigning King, Norodom, who ascended the throne at the last-named city in 1860. It is but little known, and accordingly not mentioned in any of the many guide-books on Kamboja, that P'hnom-p'hēñ was, after the first fall of Angkor Thom, made the capital by the famous King Paksī Cham-krong (*circa* 1220-1250). It remained such until 1329, when, a cucumber gatherer having been made King—as in Baron Munchausen's "Travels," chap. i.—he re-established the royal residence at Angkor Thom. However, in 1388, the King, then reigning at Pā-sān (Basan), removed to P'hnom-p'hēñ, which thus again became the capital, but for another ephemeral period, ending about 1433-1437. It was then known by the name of *P'hnom-p'hēñ Chaturmukh Charāb C'hēm*.

On the Chinese map of about 1399, published by Phillips in the *Journal China Branch R. A. S.*, vol. xxi, 1886, I find it duly marked at the quadruple junction, and on the right or western bank of the river—the same position as the city occupies at the present day—as 竹里木, *Chu-li-mu* (*Chuk-lei-muk*, in Southern dialectal pronunciation). This toponymic, not identified by Phillips,\* nor by anyone else since, that I am aware of, is, it will readily be seen, meant for *Chaturmukh*, a mere corruption of the Sanskrit name the city bore, *Chatermukha*—i.e., the "Four Faces (or Fronts)," in allusion to the four branches of the river meeting here, an expression rendered by the French as *Quatre-bras*. In A.D. 1594 we find the same name

\* See *op. cit.*, p. 40, No. 47.

under the Portuguese form of *Chordemuco* in De Morga's "Philippine Islands,"\* and a year later than that it occurs as *Müang Chaturamukh* in the Siamese "Annals of Aynthia," p. 181. The vulgar Khmër form is *Cho-do-mukh*.

A multiple fluvial junction like the one existing at P'hnom-p'hēñ could not but attract the pious attention of a people accustomed from the influence of Indū tenets and traditions to regard as of peculiar sanctity even a far less complicated *sangama* or confluence of rivers, and to raise votive cairns at such hallowed spots. Hence some lithic monument doubtless soon arose on the site of the junction, which, at a less remote period, when Buddhism became the predominant religion of the country, was replaced by, or enlarged into, an artificial mound surmounted by a Buddhist sanctuary. This is what has since become known as the *P'hnom* ("Hillock"), or, more specifically, the *P'hnom P'hēñ* ("Full Mountain," or "Hill"), from which the city is vulgarly designated. The name has been corrupted by the Annameese into *Nam Vang*, 南 榮 (Cant.,

*Nam-wing*), pronounced *Nam-vyāng* by their kinsmen of Lower Cochinchina. There can thus be no doubt that the term *P'hnom-p'hēñ* is coeval with the establishment of the hillock. Local legend brings—*more solito*—this event back to the time of Buddha, although Moura asserts,† on the very shaky authority of a document shown him by a Buddhist monk, that the sanctuary, at any rate, was originally erected in 1529 B.E. (= A.D. 986), by an opulent widow named Yēai P'hēñ (Lady Bēñ), in expiation of sins perpetrated by her husband. But such precise dates in not well authenticated native documents should be taken *cum grano salis*. The legend is, very probably, all moon-

\* Hakluyt Society, 1868, p. 43. The translator most misleadingly explains in a note at the foot of the same page: "Cho-da-mukha, in Siamese the place of meeting of the chief mandarins—i.e., the capital."

† "Cambodge," Paris, 1883, vol. i., p. 247.



shine, and as to the date of the foundation of the Buddhist shrine, it should perhaps be put down to, at least, the twelfth century. It is, nevertheless, quite possible—nay, almost certain—that some earlier monument, if not the *P'hnom* itself, existed on the same spot, and thus the native name *P'hnom P'hñ*—for the locality has a good chance of proving almost as high an antiquity as the Sanskrit—derived the alternative appellation *Chaturmukh*.

Be that as it may, the shrine actually crowning the top of the famous hillock, which is, by the way, 27 metres high, is far from being the original one. It is recorded that the sanctuary was rebuilt in A.D. 1806 by King Ong Chandr. The structure having been destroyed by fire in 1881, a new one was erected by the present King, which was inaugurated with much ceremony and merry-making on February 17, 1894. This consists of a group of three buildings comprising a Buddhist *vihāra*, or idol-house, on the top of the hill, with a little shrine by its side dedicated to the genius loci, and a *chaitya* or spire, 32 metres in height, culminating in the rear. Several flights of stone steps lead up to the esplanade on the summît of the hill, where rise the structures just referred to. The railings on both sides of the staircase are surmounted by two *nāgas* in plaster, each with seven heads, erected after the model of ancient Khmër bridges and staircases. On either side of the gate, giving access to the esplanade above, are two statues, likewise in plaster, of *P'hrea Eisô* (Siva), according to the local notion each holding a club, grimly greet the visitor. All around one notices an array of figures of lions, of *Narasimhas* (here curiously called instead *Garudas*, of *Yakṣas*), and of mouldings representing scenes from the life of Buddha, clumsily reproduced from similar bas-reliefs on old Khmër monuments.

On the whole, everything is but a tawdry imitation of classical Khmër models, and proves interesting only in so far as it reveals the decadence of modern native art placed in contrast with that practised during the halcyon

days of the country, and the degenerate taste of its modern inhabitants, delighting in plaster mouldings and whitewash, with smears of gaudy red and gold (when it is not mere tinsel), in preference to the solid and exquisite artistic work in stone, which showed the taste of their ancestors.

The visitor is, on the other hand, rewarded for his ascent to the top of the hillock by a fine view all over the town and surrounding country, with its quadripartite river stately throwing out its winding branches, like the tentacles of a polypus, glittering in the rays of a scorching sun, piercing through the pigmy green shady groves and thickets of the neighbourhood. And, though sorely disappointing to the hypercritical connoisseur who examines it in detail at close quarters, viewed from the river or from a certain distance, the hillock and its structures, as a whole, are not devoid of a certain grace and naïveté; so that, despite its crudeness of detail, one almost shudders to think what would become of P'hnom-p'hēñ without its characteristic P'hnom, with which it is so indissolubly identified; and certainly no native could imagine or even dream of the one without the other. At the foot of the hillock a few acres of land have been converted into a public garden, with a relative zoological menagerie, containing some interesting specimens of the Kambojan forest fauna.

After the indispensable visit to the P'hnom, a brief stroll through the city brought us to the Buddhist monastery called *Wat Unalom*, a name barbarously translated in local French parlance into *Olalom*, and often written *D'Ollalom* in the elaborate descriptions of globe-trotters. It is so called because in a little shrine at the back of the temple, it is said, was once preserved the central part of the frontal bone containing the *unnā* or *urna* (spirally-twisted hair between the eyebrows) of Buddha. In this monastery resides the *Somdaitch P'hreah Sang Kheretch* (*Sangharaja*), or chief of the *Mahanikaya* branch of the Buddhist Church in Kamboja, proudly termed "*le Pape*"! by native interpreters.

Thence an adjournment was made to *Wat Botum-vodei*, another monastery, so designated because in front there is a lotus-pond or *saras*. The name is the local corrupted form of the Pāli *Padumavatī* (Sanskrit *Padmavatī*). Between the temple and the pond flourishes a Bo-tree, grown up from a twig brought here from Ceylon. Formerly this was the royal temple, and members of the Royal Family were there inducted into holy orders. Its place is, however, now taken by Wat P'hreaḥ Kēu, which has but recently been erected within the precincts of the royal palace. Wat Botum-vodei is inhabited by monks of the *Dhammayuttika* or Orthodox School,\* and by its chief, the P'hreaḥ Sugandh. It was the residence of the late Somdaitch P'hreaḥ Sobhon, a high dignitary of the Church, famed for his canonical learning.

I soon had a practical illustration of the decline of scholarship among the Khmēr clergy. Knowing by long experience that the best method of quickly getting into the good graces of native monks and easily gaining

\* This was founded by the illustrious father (Mahā Mongkut) of the present Sovereign of Siām in 1825, whilst in the priesthood, previous to his becoming King. Some of the tenets of this enlightened school, which strictly adheres to the original canons, and accordingly observes a far sterner discipline than the traditional, or rather vulgar, old one, have been set forth by my esteemed friend, the late Henry Alabaster, in his clever little book, entitled "The Modern Buddhist" (London: Trübner and Co., 1870). The school is patronized both by royalty and the aristocracy, and counts amongst its members in Siām the most learned members of both the laity and clergy. It was, I believe, the present King Norodom himself—who, while still a Prince, inducted into the Holy Orders at a Buddhist monastery of the Orthodox congregation in Bāng-kōk—who introduced the new school into Kamboja when called there to the throne in 1860. Hence the school counts the Kambojan Royal Family amongst its votaries, although it has, irrespective of that, fewer adherents than in Siām, where, nevertheless, the *Mahānikāya*, or Old Buddhist Congregation, is still the most numerous. With the exception of Mr. H. Alabaster, all authors of books on Siām and Kamboja, and even on the Buddhism there, have so far completely ignored the existence of these two schools, and the highly important intellectual movement brought about by the institution of the new one, which is now the seat of canonical learning, Pāli scholarship, and pure religious discipline.

their confidence and esteem is to show them that one possesses at least the rudiments of the sacred language and Buddhistic lore, I thought it a good thing to address in Pāli the elder of a group of monks staring at us close by within the precincts of the monastery, with a view of learning the real origin of the name of the building, and a few details regarding its history. I began by putting a very simple question: "*Bhantē ayya ! Mayham anukampaya tumhakam aramassa sacca namam kathēhi ?*" ("Would you kindly tell me, venerable sir, what is the real name of this monastery of yours?") The only effect that my address made on the yellow-robed company was causing them to stare at me even more stupidly, if not wistfully, and motionless, as if spellbound. I repeated the question, but got no answer. Thinking then it was not quite plain, I climbed down the little ladder of Pāli lore I had perched upon, and put the question in such a simple way that a mere schoolboy, who had gone through the very first pages of *Kaccayana*, could have understood it: "*Bhantē thēra, kim namo ayam aramo ?*" "*Bhantē, tumhakam aramo kim namo ?*" Still not the least sign of an answer. Presuming, then, that I was in the presence of a Davus instead of an Œdipus, I asked as a last resort: "*Magadhibhasaya vacanam maya vuttam na janasi ?*" "*Tumhē Pali bhasam janatha ?*" ("Don't you understand the Pāli words I have spoken?" "Do you know Pāli?") A reply was given at last, but it was in Khmēr. The old crone humbly acknowledged that, although he had clearly understood what I had said, he was unable to answer me in Pāli; but should I have the kindness of calling again, when the High Priest was in, that personage would be able to satisfy me. I declined with thanks, and departed. This gloomy veil of ignorance of the sacred language and of the holy texts which is thus quietly settling over Kamboja is deplorably ominous, and every effort should be made to dispel it by instituting Pāli schools and corresponding examinations, after the system

that has long been in favour in both Siām and Burmā. Such examinations were doubtless introduced into Kamboja by the Siāinese while the country still acknowledged their rule, but they do not now seem to exist—except, perhaps, in name; hence the crass ignorance of the clergy.

The question is of far more importance than it would appear to the uninitiated, for it is not only a religious, but a laical one. Indo-Chinese languages, especially Siāinese, Khmër, Mōñ (Paguan or Talaing), Burmese, etc., are so indissolubly bound up with Pāli—and to a certain extent with its sister tongue, Sanskrit—which constitute over one-third of their vocabularies, that no literary proficiency in these languages can be attained unless accompanied by some fair knowledge of either of the two classical tongues of India. And it is this lack of knowledge which has hitherto so perilously marred the usefulness of grammars and dictionaries, whether of Siāinese, Khmër, Burmese, Mōñ, and even Tibetan, mostly compiled by missionaries or other well-meaning persons, who, unfortunately, have neglected—through an ignorance or misunderstanding of their actual bearings—to acquire the rudiments of those classical tongues. I trust this question of the great importance of the study of Pāli will receive the consideration it deserves from the authorities responsible for the future guidance of Kamboja in the paths of culture and refinement, and that some special school will soon be established at P'hnom-p'hēñ where the clergy, as well as lay students aspiring to literary proficiency, will be enabled to obtain a fair knowledge of Pāli, besides, possibly, Khmër and French in their higher developments. The course here sketched out has already been adopted with marked success in Burmā, where the Pāli examinations which existed under native rule were very wisely re-established by the British Government in 1895, throwing them open not only to laymen, but to laywomen as well. No less than 400 candidates of both sexes presented themselves at the last examinations, held in 1903.

I shall waste neither time nor space upon descriptions of the so-called royal "palace," which is merely a group of wretched structures, or of the royal temple of Wat P'hreaḥ Kēu, which had just reached completion at the time of my visit, and has since been inaugurated with elaborate ceremonies, religious and otherwise, and rejoicings, lasting from February 2 to 5, 1903. The temple is but an inferior imitation, in its disposition and some of its arrangements, of the Siānese Wat P'hraḥ Kēu, rearing its glittering gilt spires within the precincts of the royal palace at Bāngkōk. The shrine situated in the centre presents the most clumsy combination imaginable of European and native fantastic styles, and is a fair example of tasteless money-squandering in the struggle after gaudiness and all but artistic effect. The *clou* of the whole show is, however, constituted by the equestrian statue of the opium-fuddled King, Norodom, in the panoply of a Field-Marshal of the second French Empire—an old gift to the sluggish Kambojan potentate by the third Napoleon—rising in grotesque heroicalness on the inner courtyard of the temple. The porch running round the same courtyard has been, in apelike imitation of the Bāngkōk model, painted with scenes from the Rāmāyana, a very third-rate exhibition of decadent native art.

More curious for the average tourist is the *Damrei-sō*, or "White Elephant," kept in a miserable hovel of a stable in front of the royal palace. It was sent some three years ago from Lāos by Colonel Tournier, and is now about eight years old.

I have now about exhausted the list of the "lions" of the Kambojan capital. To it the tourist of some distinction is usually able to add the privilege of an audience from King Norodom, terminating as a rule with a theatrical performance (*lakhōn*) by his *corps de ballet*. Such diversions would have been added to our programme but for the fact that the old potentate was indisposed at the time of our

visit, so arrangements were made for a postponement of the treat until the return of our party from Angkor.

I may add that a profitable visit may be made to the native jeweller and Chinese knick-knack shops lining the street leading to the royal palace, where some interesting curios of native make may be purchased. Not altogether despicable castings in bronze, of local workmanship, are sometimes hawked about for sale, which generally consist of figures of deities of the Brahmano-Buddhist pantheon, and representations of scenes from local mythology and legend. The day's task is usually wound up with the customary *tour d'inspection*, consisting in a drive round the city through the shady alleys that, when completed, will almost entirely encircle it, thus affording a healthy breath of fresh air after the toil of a hot day's work.

##### 5. ON THE WAY TO THE LAKE. . .

Early next morning, December 26, our party proceeded up the river towards the Great Lake on the *Bassac*, a fine launch of the Messageries Fluviales, bound for Battambōng. The pseudo-branch of the Mě-Khōng, up which we travelled, is in reality the offshoot of the Great Lake during the falling waters of the annual inundation, and a channel of escape—a safety valve, in fact, for discharging the surplus flow of the Mě-Khōng during the high-water season. It is termed the *P'hrēk Lawēk*, or "Lawēk branch," from the fact of the old capital, *Lawēk*, being situated within proximity of its right bank, and has a length of some eighty miles. The waters of the river were now quite low, the banks remaining dry for a height of 12 to 13 feet. The vegetation lining them is rather dwarf. On the other hand, dwellings are frequent, and villages, both Malay and Annamese, are passed in succession on either bank, the left being formed at first by the extensive island of Chrūoi Changwā.

In a little more than an hour we moored abreast of *Piñā-lū* (Pinhalu), a settlement of native Christians founded in 1692

by D'Acosta, a former Vicar-General of Malacca, who, after the Dutch conquest of that town, had taken refuge in Kamboja. The name *Piñā-lū* is commonly interpreted, on the mere score of vernacular erudition, the "*P'hyā* (or Lord, King) hears"; but it is probable that the true etymology has been lost.

Kompong Lūang (Royal Bank, or Quay) was next reached, an important village on the right (western) bank, which is the landing-place whence one proceeds to Udong, the former capital of Kamboja (1619-1866). A road some four miles in length, supported by walls of masonry and planted with trees, made in 1849 by King Ong Duang, leads thence to the now ruined capital, the mounds of which are seen in the distance, half hidden among the luxuriant jungle. Its official name was Udong-mien-c'hai (*Uttam-mān-jay*), the "Supremely Victorious," though often given, especially in Siānese records, as *Udong-lū-c'hai*. It figures in Chinese notices of the seventeenth century and after as *Tung-p'u-chai*, 東步甫寨 (Cant., Tung-pou-ch'ai), although it has been suggested, not without reason, that the first character may be a faulty clerical error for

東, *Chien* (Cant., *Kan*), in which case the whole would read *Kan-p'u-ch'ai*, and mean Kamboja (*Kambuja* or *Kambujaya*?). This ingenious conjecture, however, does not as yet fully convince me, despite the fact that the form *Tung-p'u-chai* already appears in the "Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao" cyclopædia which was published in 1618, *i.e.*, one year before the establishment of the Kambojan capital at Udong. My contention is that the name may have existed for the spot sometime prior to the removal of the capital thereto; or else that the date of such an event as given in the Khmër chronicles is, as not unfrequently occurs, out by several years.

In about another hour the Malay village called *Lawek* (Lovek), also situated on the right bank, was passed. Malays,



locally known as *C'hvea* (= Javā), were already taking a prominent part in Kambojan affairs in the seventeenth century. Marini\* speaks of the *Malai*, called from the neighbouring kingdom (Champā; hence they were very probably Chāms, or, at any rate, mixed with Chām Muhammedans) by the usurper Nak Chan, who reigned from 1641 to 1658, to his assistance in governing the country, with the result that he himself, through their influence, embraced Islāmism. Although termed *Javā*, these Malays are not from Java Proper, but from Java Minor—i.e., Sumatra.

The ruins of Old Lawëk lie about five miles further back from the river, and at an equal distance from Udong. The capital was removed thereto from Babôr in 1528, and remained there until 1619. The King of Kamboja was, during that interval, styled *P'hraya Lawëk*—i.e., the "Lord (or King) of Lawëk"—in the Siāmes annals of Ayuthia. The city had earthen ramparts faced on the outside with stone walls, and boasted of a fine Buddhist temple, *Wat Tralëng-këng* (the "Four-faced" or "Four-fronted"), of which the dilapidated débris still exist. It was built by King Ong Chan (*Anga Chandra*, sometimes called *Chandra-raja*) shortly after 1528. It is no doubt these and similar ruins that are alluded to by Marini when he says :† "Three hundred miles inland from the mouth [of the Mě-Không River] one reaches the landing in the middle of the city itself.‡ Near the city one sees ruins of big walls and many houses, for a long stretch, of built-up stone, whereas it is now customary to make them of wood and thatch."§

\* "Delle Missioni," etc., Rome, 1663, pp. 390, 391.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 389.

‡ This can hardly refer to Kompong Lūang, the landing-place for Udong (the then capital from 1619), but to some creek connecting the city with the river at or near that point. A little water-course enabled boats to reach the walls of Lawëk during the high-water season, but this can hardly be meant here.

§ The text of which the above is a translation reads: ". . . entro a terra 300 miglia distante dalla foce, . . . si gionge a fare scala in mezzo alla stessa città. . . . Vicino alla città si veggono ruine di grosse mura, e molte case per lungo spatio di pietra murata, costumando essi hora di farle di legname, e di paglia."

*Lawëk*, or *Longwëk*, locally better known as *Lovëk*, may be, as doubtfully suggested by Aymonier,\* the ancient *Dviradapura* city of a Sanskrit inscription of *circa* A.D. 950, said to come from there, standing in *Dvirada-desā*, the "Region of Elephants." Capital of Kamboja after Angkor and Babôr, Lawëk was taken and destroyed by the gallant Siāmesese King Narēsṛ in 1596.† Two famous statues, the *P'hrah K'eu* and the *P'hrah Khô* (the sacred bull), are said to have been removed by the Siāmesese at that time. Previous to that it had sustained two sieges by Siāmesese armies—one in 1545, which was raised owing to the Kambojan King making his submission and agreeing to continue, as of yore, tributary to Siām; and the other in 1594 by the same King, Narēsṛ, which had to be given up at the end of three months in March of that year, owing to the scarcity of victuals in the besieging camp.

Kompong Trailāik (Tralach) was next passed, an important village, supported especially by its trade in firewood; and a little further on, the hamlet of Kompong Tēchī (Tachés), which devotes its energies mostly to boat-building—they are both on the western bank of the river. Here the river banks begin to get low, dwindling down to a little more than 7 or 8 feet in height. The vegetation becomes very scarce; only a few isolated trees are seen: the rest is an immense barren plain.

Shortly afterwards our steamer entered the creek nicknamed by the French "Arroyo des Singes," from its being

\* "Cambodge," t. i., Paris, 1900, p. 217.

† According to a modern inscription at Wat Anlok, alluded to in Aymonier's "Cambodge," t. i., p. 196, Lawëk would have been taken by King Narēsṛ of Siām in B.E. 2129, 4 months, 4 days, or C.E. 949, year of the Hog=A.D. 1587. The Khmër chronicles put the event in 1593, and the annals of Ayuthia in April, 1587. None of these dates is, however, to be relied upon; not even that of the epigraphic monument above referred to, which was erected considerably after the event, and is therefore liable to error in computation. My rectification of the chronology set forth in Siāmesese records of the Ayuthia period, based on the comparison of multifarious sources of information, leads me to 1596, which I have no doubt is the correct date, and I may confidently recommend it as such.

frequented by these quadrumana, some of which are tall, black, and have white beards. The native name for the creek is, however, *Prāk Sala*. The steamers prefer to follow this canal, which is only from 30 to 40 yards wide in many places, rather than the main channel of the river, which flows further to the east, and is separated from it by a large island.

At 3 p.m. we debouched from the "Arroyo des Singes" into one of the principal channels into which the river is here divided by an almost uninterrupted series of islands. In a little more than half an hour we halted at Kompong C'hnang, or "Pots Quay," so called from the earthen pots manufactured in large quantities in the vicinity. It is an important centre, and the seat of a French Resident. It dates back many centuries, and very probably is the place referred to as *Ch'a-nan*, 查南 (Cha-nam, Cha-nang,

Sat-nam) in the Chinese story of the 1296-1297 embassy to Kamboja. This *Ch'a-nan* is therein said to be one of the districts of Kamboja, situated at fifteen days' sail, with a favourable current [*i.e.*, the tide which even at present reaches, at low-water season, not far below the lake], from the mouth of the river. Here transhipment is effected into smaller vessels, by means of which the landing-place at 50 *li* from the capital may be reached. The course lies past

the two villages of *Pan-lu Ts'un*, 半路村 (*lit.*, "Half-way Village," but more likely the transliteration of a native name sounding somewhat like *Banlu* or *Bamru*: *Babôr* may be meant, or some neighbouring hamlet), and *Fo Ts'un*,

佛木村 (*lit.*, "Buddha," or "Bodhi Village"; to my belief *Bodhisat*, *vulgo* *Pursat*, despite the anachronistical objections, which will be stated anon). Thence the *Tan-yang*, 淡洋, or "Fresh-water Sea" (*i.e.*, the Great Lake), is crossed, and landing effected at *Kan-pang*,

𠵿𠵿 (Kon-pong, Kan-bang), or Ch'ien-pang, 𠵿𠵿

(Tsien-pong, Ch'ieng-p'aung, Ch'en-bang), at 50 *li* (about ten miles) from the capital as aforesaid.\* This is very likely the present village of Kompong Chong-khnies at the mouth of the Siemrāb (or Angkor) River.

The prawns of *Ch'a-nan*, adds the same author, weigh a Chinese pound ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb.) and more.†

The village consists for the most part of floating houses, although dwellings on shore are numerous, and is situated at the head of an indentation on the western bank of the river. Near the market rises a hillock crowned by a modern pagoda, *Wat Thmoh Këu*, or "Temple of the Precious Stone," built in the form of a Greek cross and enriched with gilt spires. The name is very likely derived from some idol carved out of a block of the *Thmoh Këu*, or "Crystal Stone," extracted from the hills near Pursat, which is a kind of soft alabaster with green and violet veins. At some distance, on both banks of the river, rise several groups of green-clad hills. Those on the east are called *P'hnom Nēang Kongrei* (Nāng Kangrī, or "Dame Kanhā Hills"), from a well-known legend considerably widespread in Indo-Chinese folklore. Corrupt pronunciations are *N. Damrei*, "she-elephant," and *N. Tangei*. The hill ranges on the west are those rising behind Babôr.

After these high grounds are left behind the landscape assumes a flat and monotonous appearance, only occasionally relieved by patches of jungle. Innumerable channels branch off on every side and intertwine themselves in Dedalic wise round the many low-lying islands with which the river is interspersed at this point; hence this tract of fluvial navigation is aptly termed "the Labyrinth."

\* See Rémusat's translation in "Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques," t. i., pp. 101-104; and the improved translation recently published by Professor Pelliot in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, t. iii, 1902, pp. 138, 139. The identifications suggested above for the *P'an-lu*, *Po*, and *Kan-pang* villages are, however, my own.

† *Bulletin cit.*, p. 170.

At nightfall *C'hnok-trū* was reached, another important and mostly floating village, lying near the entrance to the stream leading to Babôr. This last place, now a miserable hamlet, has seen far better days, it having been, in fact, the capital of Kamboja from 1516 to 1528, prior to the removal of the seat of royalty to Lawëk. It then rejoiced in the high-sounding name of *Amarāvati Randapurī*, which I find recorded in the Khmër chronicle preserved in Siām.\* The King had fortified himself there at the camp of *Banthēai Mēan-c'hei*, the "victorious citadel." The town has since become known as *Boribūrṇ* (Paripūrṇa), whence, by corruption, *Bābôr* (pronounced *Bābô*). In 1596 it was taken by King Narēsṛ of Siām, preparatory to his advance upon Lawëk.

It was dark when we left *C'hnok-trū*, which not only Frenchmen but also educated natives call *Shnok-trū*, as they pronounce *Shnang* the second part of the name of Kompong C'hngang. I remonstrated with the interpreter, whom some members of our party had taken with them, for this profane tampering and shuffling with the pronunciation of local toponymies, and asked him why he did not utter the sounds as they occurred in his mother-tongue. "It would be no use," he said, "as all foreigners and most native townsmen got accustomed to pronounce them that way, and would hear of no other." Such is, in fact, what happens not only in Kamboja, but all over Indo-China. Partly through inability to correctly pronounce the native sounds, but far more through carelessness, the national toponymy of all these countries is gradually getting changed, and will soon have become so altered as to be quite past recognition. The evil is not so serious in Kamboja and Siām, where place-names like those referred

\* Unrecognisably given as *Omorabotey* in Lagrée's translation, revised by Garnier, of the Khmër chronicle published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, p. 348. A few lines further we find *Anraptoron chor* in lieu of the *Amarāvati randapurī* of the chronicle preserved in Siām. A new, or at least newly revised, translation of the chronicle in question is sadly needed.

to above, and such amenities as *Sayëm*, *Bängkōk*, *Pëk-nëm*, etc., can still easily be recognised in speech and the more so in writing, as *Siām*, *Bängkōk*, *Päk-nam*, just as *Mawlta* is, amongst us, in *Malta*; although some natives, either through ignorance or ostentation of transcendental knowledge, pronounce and write them in their new-fangled form in their own peculiar script.\*

But it is in Annam where the mischief done on such lines assumes the most threatening aspect, for there, the Chinese and Chinese-derived characters still being in extensive use, the new pronunciation applied by Europeans to toponymies is, by half-ignorant natives, represented by phonograms quite different from those handed down by tradition. And as each phonogram conveys a certain definite meaning, not only the pronunciation, but the signification and history of the place-name is thus falsified, so that in the course of time an entirely spurious toponymy will take the place of the original one. The process is, naturally, carried on *bonâ fide* by superficially educated natives. These, accustomed to regard the European as their master and superior in intellectual attainments, believe him also to be infallible in the orthoepy of place-names; and although accustomed to hear the latter pronounced by their elders and see them spelled in old books in the normal traditional way, by dint of listening to the novel pronunciation ascribed to them by Europeans, they come to the conclusion that these must know better, and that their version must be the right one; thus, whenever they have to write down those toponyms, they spell them accordingly. Sometimes, again, they do this through mere spirit of apish imitation of the ways and idiosyncrasies—whether good, bad, or indifferent—of the ruling race. While in Tonkin I have heard frequent verbal complaints from sensible French officials and others

\* This is not unfrequently the case—*e.g.*, in Bängkōk vernacular newspapers, where one will occasionally find *Siām*, *Bängkōk*, etc., spelled in native characters so as to read *Sayëm*, *Bängkōk*, etc., instead of in their correct form.

about this pernicious innovation that is taking place in local toponomy. The question is considerably more far-reaching in its consequences than it may seem to the uninitiated, and steps should be taken, ere it is too late, to put a check on it through the publication of official lists of local place-names, accompanied by a careful transliteration of them in European characters, and authoritatively enjoining on both native and European officials to conform to them in writing, and also, as much as possible, in speech. And in maps, directories, etc., referring to these countries the same rational system should be strictly adhered to. Of course, in the eyes of the average reader, diacritical marks and other conventional signs intended to insure a correct transliteration and pronunciation are, as a rule, peculiarly irritating; but when such vital scientific and historical interests are at stake, as I have briefly explained above, the ocular irritation of highly sensitive people becomes an entirely secondary question. Let such people disregard those marks, and continue to ignore them as they have hitherto done, if they so prefer; but by all means let such marks duly be in evidence in all publications making the slightest pretence to scientific merit or to educational attainment.

Late in the evening a brief halt for the purpose of delivering the mail was made at the mouth of the Pūrsat River. Pūrsat (pronounced *Pūsāt*) is the local corruption of the name of *P'hôthisat* (*Bodhisat*), the capital of the Kambojan province bordering upon the western shore of the Great Lake. If the story given in the Khmēr chronicle is true, this name would date only from 1555. It is related therein that in that year King Chan (*Chandra-rāja*) having proceeded to P'hôthisat in order to repel an attack by his elder brother Ong advancing at the head of a Siānese expedition, an old Bo (*Bodhi*) tree that had long been dead put forth shoots and covered itself with foliage, reviving anew. After having made oblations to the wonderful tree, the King waged battle with his brother, whom he defeated

and killed. Under the impression that this victory was achieved through the favour of the Bo-tree, he made magnificent offerings to it, and called it *P'hôthi-mēan-bôn*, the "Meritorious Bo-tree"; and the province became henceforth known by the name of *P'hôthisat* or *Puthisat* (= Skr., *Bodhisatva*; Pāli, *Bodhisatta*).<sup>\*</sup> Soon afterwards the King had a temple erected on the spot, in which he placed two statues of Buddha, cast for the purpose.

What the name of the Bo or *Bodhi* tree has to do with the *Bodhisatva* in the present connection is difficult to see. As I have pointed out, *P'hôtisat* is most likely the *Fo Ts'un*—i.e., the "*Buddha*, or *Bodhi*, village"—mentioned in the Chinese version of the 1296-1297 embassy to Kamboja from which the Great Lake was crossed in order to reach the landing-place at or near the entrance to the Angkor River. Now, the Pūrsat River debouches just at the point where boats coming from down-stream and bound for Siem-rāb usually cross the lake, and its delta, projecting considerably eastwards, gave rise to the narrow neck connecting the upper basin of the lake with its smaller lower portion, called "The Little Lake." The position of the mouth of the Pūrsat River thus quite agrees with the one assigned to the *Fo* village in the version referred to. Besides this agreement topographically we have a surprising coincidence on philological grounds; for *Fo* almost undoubtedly here represents *Bo* or *Bodhi* rather than *Buddha*. Hence it seems reasonable to infer that the name *Bo* or *Bodhi* for a village or district situated in the territory in question already existed at the time of the Chinese embassy, and this is what gave the original name to the province, modified later on into *P'hôthisat*. It would, moreover, not be surprising if the Bo-tree from which the said village derived its name was the identical one that revived so wonderfully in 1555.

From the mouth of the Pūrsat we steamed right across

<sup>\*</sup> This remark is skipped over in the Lagrée-Garnier translation, *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, p. 351.



the middle of the Great Lake in the silent hours of the night. No better time could have been chosen for making this tedious passage, which seems intended to be spent in the arms of Morpheus. And whatever it is possible to see in the dullest dream is certainly far preferable to the sullen, dreary paludal scenery, of almost Stygian character, which the Great Lake presents. In prehistoric ages it was an arm of the sea, still accessible to sea-going vessels in the early days of Kambojan grandeur, but now reduced to little more than a muddy marsh of ever-dwindling size, which, though experiencing considerable rises during the high-water season, when it doubles its area and depth, is inevitably doomed to disappear at no very distant period. It is now called *Donlī-sāb* locally, and *Tonlī-sāb* down at P'hnom-p'hēñ, both which expressions mean "Fresh-water River (or Lake)." In *Donlī* or *Tonlī* here we have one of those terms that can be traced from Indo-China all the way to Central Asia—their probable original home—and thence to the borders of Europe itself. Siamese: *Thalē* (*Dalē*) = "sea," "lake"; *Thölin* = "lake" in Kitan and "sea" in Nü-chên; *me-derin* = "sea" in Manchu; *talui*, *talai* = "sea" in Turkish; *darya* = "sea," "river," in Persian; *θάλασσα* = "sea" in Greek, and so forth. An almost universal word, *Donlī-sāb* is, however, but a generic designation applied to any fresh-water lake. The proper, and withal classical, name, now almost entirely forgotten, by which the great inland lake of Kamboja was known to the natives was, as I found out, "*Rāma Hrada* (or *Rahada*)," the "Lake of Rāma," near the eastern shore of which rose *Indraprastha* (Angkor Thom), the capital of the *Kurus* (*Kui*, *Kvir*, or Old Khmërs). We shall see later on that this is a piece of ancient Indū classical geography adapted from *Kurukṣētra*, the region about the Indū *Indraprastha* (now Delhi); and that this discovery, which is entirely my own, will supply the explanation of several hitherto unfathomed mysteries in Old Khmër history.

6. OVERLAND TO SIEM-RAB.

At daybreak on the morning of December 27 the mouth of the Siem-rāb River was reached. Leaving the steamer in a small boat, we made for the river, the entrance, or *pēam*, to which is known as *Pēam Chong Khnīa* (Khniēs), from a village of the same name (Kōmpong Chong Khnīa) situated a short distance inside the mouth. The stream is an almost insignificant one, the banks and country on both sides being partly submerged, marshy and muddy, and utterly devoid of any patch of solid ground where one could obtain a foothold. The bamboo shanties covered with palm-thatch that line the waterway are all perched high upon piles, like gigantic stilt-birds wading through the brownish mire. We are here, in fact, within the zone of periodical inundations, although the waters had already considerably abated. P'hnom Krôm is the only hill to be seen in the distance. It rises on the left bank, and on its summit are the ruins of a Sivaitic shrine, simple but elegant, belonging to the halcyon days of Kambojan art. It appears that this hill formerly bore the name of *Kailāsa*, adopted from that of the peak on which, according to Indū mythology, is situated the city of Siva, which fact explains the character of the remains. After passing Kompong Ta-wo (or *Ta Wor*), another group of hovels on piles, we reached the place of debarkation at *P'hlan Sēik-sō* (or *Sēk-sō*), "White Parrot Road," at 8 a.m. During high-water boats can proceed up-river to within a couple of miles of Siem-rāb, for this stream flows not only through that town, but also at a short distance to the east of Angkor Wat and of the old capital, Angkor Thom. It rises in the Kulēn ("Wild Litchi") Hills, often mentioned in local ancient inscriptions as *Mahendra Parvata*, or "Mount Mahendra," which formed the original seat of royalty before the old capital was founded. It is therefore a stream worthy of becoming as classical, in native tradition, as the Scamander, the Eurotas, or the Tiber are in Western legend and history.

It flows, in fact, through the thickest and noblest part of the monuments of the Angkor series. At the present season, however, being at low ebb, it could not be availed of further than our point of debarkation, which, as the crow flies, is some six miles from Siēm-rāb. An old causeway leads thence towards the last-named town, and the cart track follows at first this raised ridge, damaged in many places, through the low and nasty jungle, until it debouches in the fertile plain of Siēm-rāb. At that stage the trail crosses the paddy-fields, interspersed by smiling groves and groups of dwellings, pleasantly impressing the way-farer with their unmistakable air of comfort and wealthy surroundings of palm and fruit trees. One experiences a welcome relief at having left behind the dismal swampy country, and finding one's self at last on firm cultivated ground, which rises with a gentle, almost imperceptible, slope as one proceeds. Far ahead looms a dim vision of a verdant fringe of vegetation, above which emerge the feathery tufts of Palmyra and Areca palms, slightly waving under the caresses of the wind. This marks the course of the river Siēm-rāb, hidden beneath luxuriant verdure, on the banks of which spreads out, in luxurious Oriental style, the opulent capital of the district.

As, on disembarking, the carts had not yet arrived, a start could not be made until 3.30 p.m., and Siēm-rāb was not reached till nightfall. I need not describe the style of travelling in the little bullock carts, here called *kathēh* (often pronounced *katēh* and *atēh*), which may be aptly compared, in so far as bodily experiences are concerned, to that of riding in an automobile driven over the roughest ground by a foolhardy *chauffeur*. As regards the pranks of the shaky wooden structure, and the shrill, grating creaks they unceasingly emit whilst in motion, they decidedly beggar description. For a faint parallel in the whole world's literature I might refer the reader to Cervantes' graphic picture in his "Don Quixote" of the vehicles of Spain, the harsh, uninterrupted creaking of which, as he

wittily puts it, frightened away even "*los lobos y los orsos*." I have not the slightest doubt that the heart-rending jarring of the buffalo and bullock cart of Siām, Kamboja, and Burmā proves too much even for the ears of leopards and tigers, and is thus the most efficacious spell to frighten them out of one's path. Not that this drawback dismayed me, nor the prospect of the most trying ordeal of having to be jolted about in the roughest manner in those primitive conveyances for the space of three hours, for my experiences of land travelling in similar vehicles in Siām and neighbouring countries, have extended over nearly a quarter of a century, and resulted sometimes in being pitched out into the jungle skirting the road, through the sudden break-down of a wooden axle on one side, and at other times being pitched into the very middle of a dirty, muddy puddle, with the cart on the top of me! But I felt not a little distressed for the fate of those of my companions not yet used to such surprises, more especially for the only lady of our party, whom, I have omitted to mention, had, with her husband, joined us at P'hnom-p'hēñ. However, we had hardly started, each in a separate cart, filing past, one after the other, in a long caravan, when several natives appeared from the opposite direction leading five ponies, which they placed at our disposal. These steeds were being sent to us by the acting Siāinese Commissioner of Siēm-rāb, who, in the temporary absence of the Commissioner, had most kindly hurried them on upon the receipt of a hastily-pencilled note in Siāinese, on a scrap of paper; I had despatched by a special messenger that morning immediately after our landing and on finding that no carts had as yet arrived for us. I need not describe how this unexpected bit of luck pleased us, although only half of our party could be accommodated with mounts. The fortunate ones were thus enabled to ride on in comfort, paladin fashion, towards the cocoanut-trees of Siēm-rāb, which, with their radiating, outspread arms, could, with a little imagination, in the absence of windmills, well pass muster for the innocent

engines charged by the famous knight of La Mancha. The capering bullock carts were relegated to our boys and baggage, and to the less Don Quixotic members of our expedition, who voluntarily, partly with fatalistic resignation, and partly for the sake of the new and sensational, agreed to submit to this form of Ixion-like ordeal. Happily the journey was accomplished without any untoward incident; aching limbs though there were, bones were safe. Accommodation had meanwhile been got ready for us in the *sala* or bungalow serving as a public office for the Commissioner, and occasionally as a rest-house. This is a comfortable wooden building raised on piles, boasting of a spacious veranda in front, also doing duty as a sitting- and, withal, dining-room, and apportioned in the rear into several small rooms separated by partitions.

After a refreshing bath in the crystalline waters of the Scamander, flowing past the front of the compound, and an almost Lucullian dinner, prepared by the pigtailed Vatel sent on to look after our material comfort by the Grand Hôtel Pnom-penh, the rest of the evening was whiled away in listening to a vocal, instrumental, and mimico-comic concert, improvised by several local amateurs and professionals, partly Siamese and partly Khmers. One of the latter, a blind old fellow who played the guitar, was a real musical genius, and by his exquisite A solos, evinced a complete mastery of his instrument, whether in the most delicate arpeggios or the vigorous flights of lyric pathos, eliciting the admiration of us all, even the most hypercritical. Never did it fall to my lot to listen to as equally good and impressive a performance by a native musician as the one given by this blind and hoary Orpheus, inspired heaven knows by what native Eurydice. For indeed, he seemed to transfuse, in his sweet and melancholy passionate melodies, all his soul, and the weird elegy of the light and life his eyes had for ever lost, but which had by no means become extinct within him.

This soothing prelude prepared us for a placid sleep,

which, despite our bedding which was laid down, in true camp style, on the wooden floor of the bungalow, we enjoyed as much as on the most comfortable couch.

#### 7. ANGKOR WAT AT LAST.

Early next morning, December 28, we started, some on horseback and others on the famous rattling bullock carts, for the famous ruins, reaching Angkor Wat in less than an hour. The distance from Siem-rāb is about three miles and a quarter. The road, or natural trail that does duty for it, meanders over a reddish sandy plain overgrown with low but thick and exuberant jungle. Here and there one passes an occasional clearing planted with cocoanut palms and bananas. Though hidden from sight, the Angkor River flows but a few yards off, almost parallel with the track.

Strange to say, the five rude tops of the topmost domes of the famous sanctuary do not come in sight until one has got within a few hundred yards of them, being hidden by the tree-tops. One turn more of the road and one comes on a charming structure towering in all its majesty. How unfortunate that it is situated in the middle of such a flat plain! Had it been erected on one of the detached neighbouring hills, what a far more magnificent spectacle it would present! Yet, even as it is, it forms an impressive, almost supernatural sight, never to be forgotten, and but seldom equalled in the whole wide world. As one catches the first glimpse of it in the morning, whilst its formerly gilt domes recover their lost splendour under the rays of the rising sun, or even in the subdued reflex of the twilight, when their dark outlines are weirdly prominent in the transparent atmosphere like a fascinating mirage, the traveller involuntarily feels compelled to pause in profound awe and admiration, as one does before everything that is great, noble, and magnificent beyond the powers of description, not to say almost of human conception.

Partly for this reason, and partly because this monument

has been so often described and illustrated in special works devoted to its study, I shall not attempt to give here even a summary account of its arrangement or architecture. Suffice to say that every one of our party, upon finding themselves in front of this masterpiece of Old Khmër art, stood enraptured in silent contemplation of the glorious sight. And after having surveyed the proportions of this massive yet so elegant and harmoniously proportioned structure, they gave utterance to their wonder in most emphatic terms, such as: "Oh, how charming!" "What a marvel!" "How grand and graceful!" It was, in short, pronounced by each of us, who had severally visited the most celebrated monuments of the world, on a par, as regards æsthetic grandeur, at any rate, with the best that human art, genius, and ingenuity had so far erected. Not that the masterpieces of Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, Roman, medieval, or even modern architecture ever fail to surpass it in some point or other, whether it be in sublimity of design, or exquisiteness of detail. In their comparatively smaller dimensions they can, in many an instance, carry the palm. So might have Cyrus' palace or the famous temple of Solomon easily outshone it in splendour, and the Tāj Mahal may surpass it in airiness; the Javanese Boro-bodor in outward showiness; the neighbouring Bā-yōn itself, of which more anon, in elegance and originality. But this is so immense, so gigantic! So much so that in comparison Cheops' pyramid is but a limb to it, and St. Peter's Cathedral could well be contained within its intermediate enceinte. Cyclopean in its structure, and exceedingly heavy in its massiveness, it is yet the very reverse of the Ovidian *rudis indigestaque moles*, for it is a mass, Titanic and Michelangelo-like withal, moulded into gracefulness. It is, in fact, a winged ode, an inspired pæan, petrified in sombre sandstone, as if to form the mausoleum for the departed Khmër art, in which its last mark was left and its last note was sung—the song of the dying swan.

The number of hands employed in building the beautiful edifice, the number of years it must have taken to bring the work, which was left incomplete, to the stage at which it has now remained for the past seven or eight centuries, will never, perhaps, be exactly known nor easily guessed. Leaving, however, a brief discussion of these and other topics connected therewith for a separate chapter at the end of the present notes, I shall here confine myself to a few measurements and other such data as are best apt to convey an idea of the size and salient features of this incomparable monument.

External perimeter of the ditch surrounding the whole monument measured, along the revetment stone wall, about 6,000 metres. Width of ditch in front, 200 metres; on the other sides, 64 metres. This is crossed in the middle of the western front (that towards which the façade of the structure is turned) by a monumental causeway 12 metres wide, leading to a bridge 80 metres long; and on the diametrically opposed side—*i.e.*, the eastern front (forming the back of the structure)—by a similar structure, 64 metres in width. The two causeways continue towards the inner part of the premises, reduced to 8 metres' width, and are the only two places of access to the sanctuary from the outside.

The total length of the west-east axis of the monument, measured between the two extreme limits of the causeways, is about 1,500 metres.

Along the inner edge of the ditch runs a wide berme, separating it from the wall of the enceinte, which latter encloses a rectangular space of  $1,047 \times 827$  metres. The short sides of the rectangle are those forming the front and rear of the monument. It is on this area that the structures are built. Access is afforded to this area by imposing gates rising on the middle of each side. The one in front, corresponding to the causeway coming from the west, has no less than 235 metres of frontage, and is a respectable monument in itself alone. The gates in the middle of the other three



sides are far more diminutive structures, having only 35 metres of frontage.

We now come to the principal group of buildings constituting the sanctuary proper. Proceeding along the front causeway, and passing between two fine lateral pavilions, succeeded by two sacred ponds, square in shape, we reach a rectangular terrace, about  $340 \times 430$  metres, forming the platform of the temple itself. This, fronted by a cruciform terrace, rises in three tiers, supported by basements, of ever-increasing height, along the outer edge of each of which run colonnaded or balustraded galleries, forming a triple enceinte surrounding the central spire. The basements of the first two tiers or enceintes of galleries are each about 4 metres high, and that of the inner tier overtops the one immediately adjoining by 12 metres, and the natural level of the ground by about 23 to 24 metres. The first enceinte of galleries is connected to the second from the front side by a cruciform vestibule; but the innermost enceinte, which, differently to the two others, is square in shape, and not rectangular, stands up isolated all round in a kind of courtyard, from which twelve steep staircases lead up to it, two at each corner and one at the middle of each side. Axial galleries further connect it with the central tower. Similar staircases, though less steep and lengthy, afford access to the two outer tiers of galleries from the outside. Moreover, the corners and centres of the sides of each perimetral gallery are surmounted by lancet-shaped domes, of which the corner ones tower up higher than the rest. Most conspicuous among these are, naturally, the four domes of the inner enceinte, which, with the central spire of the sanctum shooting up in their midst and overtopping them all, form a most magnificent crowning piece to the whole structure.

The following are the measurements relative to the group of buildings just described :

First, or outer, enceinte : Length of west and east fronts, 287 metres ; south and north sides, 215 metres.

Second, or intermediate, enceinte : Length of west and east fronts, 115 metres ; of south and north sides, 135 metres.

Third, or innermost, enceinte : This rises, as usual with the central sanctum, on a square massive basement measuring 63 metres on each side at the base, and 45 metres on the top between the axis of the galleries. The height of the pinnacle of the central dome above the surrounding ground was, when intact, 65 metres.

Here are, furthermore, a few figures as regards decorative details and sculptured areas. As many as 1,532 pillars are employed in and about the sanctuary, of which only a few are round, the rest being square. All consist in each case of a single block of sandstone, and have finely-ornamented pedestals and capitals, generally lotus-shaped. Some are fluted, but most of them are covered with exquisite and wonderfully well-executed carvings, representing either arabesques, figures of celestial nymphs and dancers, floral patterns, and others designs. The inner wall of the gallery forming the outer enceinte of the sanctuary proper is, for a length of some 600 metres and a height of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  metres or more, covered with really superb bas-reliefs carved in a stone of finer texture, representing well-known scenes from the two great Indū epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābharata, and from early Khmēr legend and history. Other immense surfaces about the basements of the galleries and elsewhere are similarly ornamented, so that the total area of highly-finished carvings alone cannot be far less than 5,000 or 6,000 square metres, probably considerably more.

The stone blocks composing the principal parts of the structure are of remarkable size, and appear to have been quarried at P'hnom Bei, situated twenty miles to the north-east. The foundations, however, consist of laterite, extracted, no doubt, on the spot, from the vast ditches and artificial ponds. Most blocks, except those that have been carved or sculptured into statues and figures of mythical animals, exhibit holes in pairs, evidently for the purpose of

being more easily handled with iron hooks during transport. The joints fit so perfectly as to prove, in the best-preserved and most artistic parts of the building, scarcely discernible. No mortar or other binding cement has been employed to keep them together. The vaults and ceilings are pointed arches somewhat pointed on the exterior curved side, built on the corbel method, with superposed horizontal layers of stone blocks overlapping each other and gradually converging from the imposts towards the centre until they meet at the crown of the vault.

Bats reign supreme in the corridors and porches, filling them with the stench and filth of their droppings. Angkor Wat is thus, from a utilitarian standpoint, a valuable addition to the number of places in Kāmboja where guano is procured, which is used in manuring the Siem-rāb gardens, as well as for the manufacture of saltpetre. Owing to the exertions of the present Siānese Commissioner, however, the galleries of the sanctuary infested with the bat pest are now kept cleaner than formerly, and a check has also been put upon the growth of the jungle in and about the courtyards and esplanades which was fast invading the sanctuary.

Near the sides of the causeway leading from the western portal to the temple rise two pavilions, which are said to have been the royal kitchens; and various edifices in the inner parts of the sanctuary are pointed out as the apartments formerly occupied by the Kāmbojan kings. But no credence can be attached to the fanciful stories invented about the origin and purposes of the building by the ignorant, degenerate descendants of the great race that erected it, or at least assisted in the grand work. It is more likely that the Khmēr kings, when tarrying there for several days in succession on the occasion of festivals and religious celebrations at the temple, resided—as has always been the custom—in temporary pavilions erected for the purpose.

On the esplanade, by the side of the front terrace affording access to the sanctuary, are several wooden buildings

converted into two Buddhist monasteries. The monks are supinely ignorant, knowing nothing of Pāli, and both they and the boys residing with them as pupils or novices are merely taught reading and writing in modern Khmër. Only the two head priests of the establishments are fair adepts in Pāli lore and the sacred texts, having undergone their training in Bāngkōk. More outwards, and on the northern side of the causeway, is to be seen a half-crumbling sālā, or resting-shed, for the use of visitors. Here we partook of luncheon, fairly earned by our laborious perambulations over the vast sanctuary.

On the fifth of the native month (April), the period at which the new year begins both in Siām and Kamboja, a considerable pilgrimage of the faithful takes place to the sanctuary, to make there *buñ* or "merit" with offerings, and also to enjoy themselves by feasts, songs, and games. At such seasons Angkor Wat assumes an unusually animated aspect, and the population throngs in festive crowds in and about the temple.

All available spaces on the walls of the passages lying on the main route of access to the inner parts of the sanctuary are covered with the names of past visitors, either written, painted, or engraved. One finds here names of people of nearly all nationalities, professions, and religions, whether Western or Oriental, conspicuous among which are some well-known European scientists and travellers. Nor is there by any means a lack of the usual gushing effusions in rhyme perpetrated under the would-be inspiration of the Muse. Here is a pigmean attempt at escalading Parnassus, copied from a pillar in the northern wing of the sanctum, which is, in itself, both charming and instructive :

"Monument deux fois millénaire [? ? ! !]

Victorieux du temps, en ta beauté

Mon nom [!] de pygmée éphémère

Salue avec humilité

Ton colossal mystère et ta perennité [?].

"G. D—

"October, 1899."

*Ab uno disce omnes.* Evidently, Angkor Wat has yet to find her bard—a no easy task. I may remark, by the way, as being a very rare and perhaps unique instance, that even amongst the modern Khmers it counts at least one minstrel poetaster rejoicing in the name of Pōng, who has passably well, judging from a native point of view, sung its praises in his "*Lebök Angkor Wat*," the "Building of Angkor Wat," in which he displays singularly vigorous descriptive powers, although too often allowing his imagination to wander away unbridled in the realm of fiction.\*

Nearly in front of the sanctuary, and on the other side of the trail leading thither from Siēm-rāb, exists, terribly inharmonious, a cluster of hovels, the principal feature of which is an opium den and spirit shop, patronized by wayfarers as well as by the few inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Cocoanut palms flourish round about, as also pine-apples, while low jungle encircles the whole at a short distance. One becomes much depressed at the present desolate aspect of a country once so flourishing, and embittered at the sight of the greedy encroachments of the invading jungle, which envelops, conceals, and, slowly but surely, as a python gradually crushes its victim in its deadly embrace, buries so many art treasures in its recesses. What a sad contrast is presented here of Nature's work with the grand creations of human genius! Yet so far the massive structures of Angkor Wat have withstood tolerably well the destructive agencies of both jungle and time, as well as of fire and flood, and remarkably so, when it is beyond doubt the best preserved of all Old Khmēr monuments, and is still capable of being restored to its pristine integrity. Let us hope that this labour of love may be undertaken ere it is too late.

Meanwhile, I may sum up the impressions formed by our party by saying that it was unanimously declared superior

\* His poem has been published by Mr. E. Aymonier in his "*Textes Khmers*," Saigon, 1878, pp. 267-297. A rough translation of it in French has been given on pp. 68-84 of the first part of the same work.

to every expectation formed from pictures and descriptions seen beforehand in books and other publications. There is no doubt, in fact, that it is one of the very few monuments in the world that do not disappoint the preconceived notions the tourist has acquired from guide-books and such like. This is saying no little; though not the most original, elegant, or even extensive, of the architectural marvels left us by the Old Khmër civilization, yet it is one of the most characteristic, and from its remarkably good state of preservation, its ready accessibility and imposing appearance, it is the only one of those masterpieces most likely to satisfy the expectations of the visitor, be he but a mere tourist of limited culture. For it requires no adept in the mysteries of art to grasp the endless beauties of Angkor Wat, as they naturally attract the attention of, and are so very prominent to, the most untrained eye. This and other impressions derived from these superb monuments calls to my mind a passage in one of Chateaubriand's best works, where he says: "Il n'y a que deux sortes de belles ruines: les ruines judaïques et les ruines grecques." Had the author of the "*Génie du Christianisme*" visited at least Angkor Wat, he certainly would not have failed to add the third "et les ruines Khmères."

#### 8. A PEEP INTO ANGKOR THOM, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL.

The afternoon of the same day, December 28, was spent by our party in a hurried visit to the ancient Khmër capital, now vulgarly known as Angkor Thom, situated about fifteen minutes' walk and ten minutes' leisurely ride to the north of Angkor Wat. *Angkor Thom* simply means the "Large *Nagara*" (or walled city). In Siamese it is more often designated as *Nakhōn (Nagar) Lúang*, and sometimes *P'hrah Nakhōn Lúang*, which conveys the same sense. On the way thither one skirts on the left the foot of the hillock called P'hnom Bā-Khěng; but unless told, he would not be aware of it, as the thick jungle hides its summit from view.

Shortly afterwards the southern gate of the famous city is reached. This, like the other gates of this capital (of which there are five in all, one at the middle of each side except the eastern one, which has two), is monumental and profusely ornamented with sculptures. On either side of the gateway there are doors admitting to lateral chambers, evidently destined for the use of the guard at the gate. Just above the floor, and on the inner wall of each of these chambers, one notices a square opening of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, giving access to a still more inner closet, which probably was used as a store. Both fronts, inner and outer, of the gate are ornamented with representations of two tricephalic elephants, one on each side, whose heads stand out in bold relief from the wall, while the tips of their trunks rest upon expanded lotus flowers, the roots of which descend down into the basement. The summit of the gateway is surmounted by the head of a four-faced Brahma. Away on either side stretch the city walls, which are remarkably high, crenulated with merlons, and built of well-fitting blocks of the usual dark-gray sandstone. The effect is truly imposing, and one is struck with wonder by the enormousness of the work, considering that the perimeter of the city is no less than ten miles, the sides measuring about 4,000 yards each. Its shape is an almost exact square.

Along the foot of the walls, on the outside, a slight but regular depression in the ground still marks the site of the ancient moat, now almost entirely filled up and converted into paddy-fields by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. A bridge, ornamented with figures of *yakṣas* and *naga* railings, gives access to each gate.

I cannot go into details as regards the numerous monuments, still extant in a more or less dilapidated condition, contained within and all around on the outside of this famous last centre of the Old Khm̃er power and grandeur, for even a short description of each of these masterpieces, and whatever notable features they present, would fill a well-sized volume. It will suffice for the present purpose to

merely mention the most important edifices inspected by our party during the hasty tour of that day. Later on I shall revert to the subject, and add some brief notices of other monuments observed in the course of my second visit to the town and its environs.

Continuing, then, our progress from the southern gate to the central part of the city, we found ourselves in front of that now, alas! crumbling jewel of Khmër architecture known as the *Ba-yōn*, or *Banyong*, still admirable in its distressful ruin. It rises in several tiers on a basement in the form of a Greek cross, and terminates in a lofty structure of the *prasad* type, surmounted by a four-faced head of Brahma, and surrounded by eight minor domed edifices in the same style, and also by colonnaded galleries. From the fact of statues of Buddha having formerly stood in its chambers, it has been argued that its purpose was probably Buddhist; but Aymonier is inclined to identify it\* with the *Sivasrama* of the Sdok Kōk Thom inscription, erected in *circa* A.D. 880 by King Indravarman. It must have formed a most charming object then, and for several succeeding centuries, when it towered superbly, with its forty-two domes covered with glittering gold, near the centre of the populous city, and displayed, to the wonder of the citizens and foreign visitors alike, the wealth of its exquisitely-executed basso-relievos, of which, alas! but a few fragments now remain intact. There seems no room for doubt that this monument is the golden tower, surrounded by over twenty stone towers, and marking the centre of the kingdom, referred to in the Chinese story of the 1296-1297 embassy to Kamboja. A possibly similar structure, though apparently having little more in common with it than the name, was erected within the precincts of the Siamese royal palace at Ayuthia, in about 1605-1610, by the then reigning King Eka-Thosarot (*Éka Dasaratha*). Having taken part in the two expeditions of 1593 and 1596 by his elder brother Naresr against Kamboja, that

\* "Le Cambodge," t. ii., p. 266; h. 3.



prince probably had occasion to pay a visit to the Angkor Thom ruins, and, struck by the irresistible beauty of the Bā-yōn, it is not unlikely he attempted to have it imitated in his own palace after becoming supreme King of Siām (A.D. 1605).\* A mere heap of débris is all that now survives of this structure, which stood in the western part of the palace aforesaid. To give an idea of the present state of the Bā-yōn, suffice it to point out that the roots of shrubs, even of fairly-sized trees, that have grown almost all over it, by deftly inserting themselves between the

\* This is, of course, my own rectified date. The structure he had raised must have, however, judging from existing accounts, differed considerably—at least, in its details—from the Bā-yōn. Khuân-luāng Hāwat, in his “Memoirs” (pp. 282, 284), describes it as crowned by a pavilion in the style of a *maṇḍapa navasūra* (i.e., of a central dome surrounded by eight minor ones), as in the Bā-yōn, but ornamented with a single pinnacle (the central one), which, doubtless, ended in a slender-pointed spire, and not in a four-faced head of Brahma, as in the Khmēr prototype. A colonnaded porch projected out of each façade on the four sides of the building. The whole rose in the centre of an artificial pond, by the waters of which it was surrounded, so that access could only be obtained to it by boat. Nevertheless, bridges connected it with two kiosks erected on piles in the pond, one to the north and the other to the south of it. All formed the goal of frequent pleasure excursions on the part of the King and his successors. Within each of the four porches rose ornamental *puṣpaka* stands, surmounted by canopies, in which, very probably, stood figures of Buddha, unless they were intended for royal thrones. In front of each porch and by the edge of the pond was a landing-stage, from which a double staircase, with *nāga*-ornamented railings, led down to the water. An elegant balustrade ran round the whole on the edge of the embankment.

I have thought it useful to transcribe these particulars as likely to throw some light on the former arrangements and features of the Khmēr Bā-yōn, for there seems no doubt that its Siāmesse namesake was erected somewhat after the style of that ancient monument. It was, after its Khmēr prototype, designated the *Banyong Ratanās Mahā-prāsād* (*Panyaṅga Ratna-āsana Mahā-prāsāda* = Great *prāsād* of the Jewel-throne). The term *Banyong*, although spelled *Pañṇaṅga*, is really meant for Skr. *Paryāṅka* = throne, Pāli *Pallaṅka*. It might, of course, be referred also to the Siāmesse *Banyong* = *banchong*, *prachong*, etc.—i.e., “beautiful,” “elegant”; but I have no doubt that the former etymology from Skr. *Paryāṅka* is the right one, and thus one of the most crucial philological puzzles that have hitherto taxed the wits of writers on Khmēr antiquities disappears. Aymonier (*op. cit.*, t. ii., p. 428) is at a loss to explain this term, which he found also applied to the monument of *Bā-Không*.

crevices, have displaced the stone blocks and caused a good many of these to fall down.\* The whole building is now so lamentably shattered and split open with cracks and chasms that the day of its final collapse into a shapeless heap of débris cannot be far off. A restoration of it to its former condition seems to be hopeless, but the ingenuity of European architects might yet be able to save it from utter destruction, and perhaps to restore some of the less seriously damaged parts. Everything humanly possible should be tried and done to preserve for the admiration and delectation of future generations this masterpiece, probably the most original creation of Old Khmër art.

Next, the *P'himan-akas*, or, as its name is locally pronounced, *P'himean-aka* (*Vimana-akasa*—i.e., *Akasa-vimana* = the "High, or Aerial, Palace")†—rising with its two-tiered domes, *simha*- (lion) ornamented staircases, galleries, etc., on the site of the ancient royal palace, was visited. Then came the turn of the remains of the palace walls, enriched with superb sculptures; of the statue of the famous

\* The tree growing on the ruined monuments of Angkor, the stone blocks of which it forces asunder with its roots, is called *dôm Slôt*—i.e., the *Slôt*-tree. Its bark is sometimes used to make paper with. Elsewhere I noticed the kind of *Ficus*, known in Siām as *P'hô-thalē*, which also helps in the destruction of ancient Siāmesé monuments.

† This very name *P'himān-ākās* also existed in the old Siāmesé capital, Ayuthia, for a building within the royal palace enclosure. Whether this was erected in imitation of its Khmër namesake or not, it is now impossible to say. During the latter days of that capital (A.D. 1767) it was used, as Khún Lúang Hāwat tells us (p. 280), as a storehouse for mirrors, glassware, and carpets imported from various foreign countries, among which was *Kālāpā* (Batavia). It will thus be seen that the masterpieces of Khmër architecture were widely imitated in Siām, especially those extant at Angkor Thom. They formed, in fact, the school for Siāmesé architects. In 1631, it is recorded in the annals of Ayuthia, that King Prāsād Thōng sent artisans to study, and take likenesses of, the monuments of *Nakhōn Lúang*—i.e., Angkor Thom—and on the models obtained therefrom he had a country residence for himself built on the right bank of the Saraburī River near Wat Devachandr, which is the point of departure for the road leading to the *P'hrah Bāt* ("Sacred Footprint") Shrine. To this structure the King gave the name of *P'hrah Nakhon Lúang*, after the place of origin of its prototypes. Remains of it exist to this day.

leprous King of Khmër legend still standing close by in the grave posture of a saintly ascetic, wailing like a Jeremiah over the direful ruin of the glorious empire that was once his own ; and of other minor monuments, of which more anon. In short, an endeavour was made to make the most of the very limited time at our disposal by visiting and seeing as much as possible of the remains of this Indo-Chinese Nineveh or Babylon. Anything like a thorough examination of all the monuments situated within its compass and environs would occupy weeks. As regards myself, however, I had, as will be seen from the sequel, the good fortune of being able to devote a few more days—quite outside the programme—to this fascinating employment.

By sunset we were back in our temporary quarters at Sîem-râb, our minds full of memories, our hearts brimming with pleasant impressions, and our eyes filled with phantasmagorical visions of *prasads*, bas-reliefs, *yaksas*, and seven-headed *nagas*, and all the paraphernalia of the architectural imagery and legendary lore of the glorious period of what must have been a most interesting people. A plunge in the limpid waters of the neighbouring stream, which for centuries had bathed the foundations of so many of the masterpieces we had just admired, refreshed our bodies from the fatigues of the day—a day that was to close, perhaps for ever, our connection—personally, at any rate—with the monuments of Angkor.

(*To be continued.*)

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, March 21, 1904, a paper was read by Mr. W. Hughes, M.I.C.E., on "Madras Irrigation and Indian Irrigation Policy." J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., in the chair. Amongst those present were: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Colonel and Mrs. Mead, Colonel Kilgour, Mr. and Mrs. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. R. H. Puckle, C.I.E., Colonel A. T. Frazer, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. J. W. Rundall, M.I.C.E., Mr. McConechi, Mr. Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Henry Sewell, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. Durant Beighton, I.C.S., Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Cavendish, Miss Maloney, Miss Rogers, Mr. Adolph Rost, Mr. Jopp, Mr. Godfrey Bradley, Mr. A. C. Langston, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. Aublet, Mr. W. H. Craig, Miss Annie Smith, Mr. A. C. Johnstone, Mr. B. A. Cooper, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. J. W. Martin, Mr. Martin Wood, Mr. T. D. Zal, Mr. N. D. Daru, Mr. L. K. Davè, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN announced that letters of regret had been received from Lord Wenlock, whose name was so prominently and honourably connected with Madras Irrigation, and who, it was hoped, would have presided, and Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I. In one respect he was competent to take the chair, and in one only—viz., that he knew Mr. Hughes years ago in Madras, and realized what a distinguished irrigation officer he was, and how well he was acquainted with the subject of which he was now treating. Mr. Hughes was, indeed, the first expert to deal with the report of the Indian Irrigation Commission, and in his paper he recognised the fact that irrigation could not be extended irrespective of physical and financial conditions. In that respect the question of irrigation resembled the policy of the municipal and local bodies of this country. It was not sufficient to say a certain work was an improvement and a benefit; it should only be carried out with due regard to cost and the pocket of the ratepayer. Another lesson of the Commission was that water could not everywhere be advantageously stored, and that in some provinces things had already reached such a pass that not a single stream could be intercepted without injury to private interests. Mr. Hughes would in his paper indicate the magnificent projects which were included in the Commission's programme. The telegrams received from India that morning showed that £850,000 was provided for carrying out this programme next year, and that he took as a satisfactory proof that the Government of Lord Curzon meant to attack a problem of this grave importance with all the energy for which Lord Curzon was famous.

The paper was then read.\*

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure they would all agree that the paper they had heard from Mr. Hughes was worthy of his great reputation

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

Mr. Hughes had described his paper as "Madras Irrigation and Indian Irrigation Policy," though the proper sequence might appear to be "Indian Irrigation Policy and Madras Irrigation." But as a Madras officer he felt proud to think—and there were many present who felt the same—that the title of the paper was not altogether inappropriate, and that Madras was, at all events, as great an irrigation Province as any other, for it was there Sir Arthur Cotton carried out those great irrigation works which were associated with his name; he it was who first taught the people of India how to deal with the sandy river-beds. It was to his example that the execution of so many great projects was subsequently due. He remembered very well the *shasanams*, or copper-plate inscriptions, they used to meet with in Southern India; how *anicuts*, or dams, were represented as situated in the jungles surrounded by elephants, tigers, and other wild beasts, and imprecations were called down upon the heads of those who in after-times should neglect these important works of irrigation. Mr. Hughes, he thought, had done rightly in paying his tribute to those old irrigation engineers, because it seemed to him that, except in regard to the advance made by Sir Arthur Cotton, the English engineers had in point of fact been following in their footsteps. Another point in which Madras was conspicuous amongst the Indian provinces was in respect of its 40,000 minor irrigation works, upon the proper maintenance of which depended about two-thirds of the whole irrigable area of that Presidency. There was one matter to which Mr. Hughes had referred which was of the utmost importance, and which had on previous occasions been rather acrimoniously discussed in that room. Mr. Hughes had spoken of the assessments fixed at the time when the British took over the country, such assessments having continued in force in the middle of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. He believed the real facts to be these: the British found certain assessments varying from 50 per cent. to 80 per cent. in force, and they very naturally adopted them; but the difference was that the native Governments had not rigorously enforced these rates, having regarded them as ideal assessments to be worked up to or departed from as seasons varied, rather than as actual assessments to be annually collected regardless of harvests, and he himself believed that, prior to the time of Sir T. Munro, British policy in this behalf certainly left very much to be desired in Southern India. It should, however, be remembered that Sir Thomas Munro brought about a great reform when he fixed 50 per cent. of the net produce as the standard, and that there had subsequently been continual reductions. He believed the assessment generally collected all over the country was now about 7 per cent. of the gross, rising to 20 per cent. in the case of valuable irrigated lands. He would be glad if Mr. Hughes, when he replied, would speak of that matter, and also say what deduction was usually made for cultivating expenses. He had himself claimed that the figure was sometimes as high as 50 per cent., but this had been flatly contradicted, and the deduction had been put by other speakers as low as 15 per cent. He thought it would be very valuable if they could get an authoritative statement on that point, and he noticed that there

were many gentlemen present who were competent to speak upon it. He would also like to know whether the position could be contradicted that irrigated land in the South of India let for three times the amount of the land-tax. If that were the case, it was a very complete answer to the unjust criticisms so frequently passed upon the British Government, to the effect that they had raised the assessment to such a height as to produce famine, while, on the contrary, it was their earnest endeavour to mitigate and prevent, so far as was possible, suffering resulting from loss of crops in any part of the vast continent of India. As to the irrigation projects which were included in the Commission's recommendations, there were gentlemen present who could discuss them exceedingly well, amongst others Mr. Jopp, who was responsible for a considerable project in Southern India modelled upon the Periyar irrigation scheme, which very much resembled in many features that of the Tungabudra in the Commission's programme. He was very much impressed with the truth of Mr. Hughes' statement that "the relief of famine, without taking measures at the same time to increase the resources of the places subject to famine, seems certain to end in disaster, as the number requiring relief will only be greater in each succeeding famine." This was a great truth, and in the last famine, if they took the number of persons fed, and counted each person each day as a separate unit, the numbers relieved would be found to amount to about two-thirds of the estimated population of the world. At the same time, too much importance was not to be attached to mere numbers, because it must be remembered that at the height of the famine, while something like six and a half millions were on out-door relief in India, the proportion of the population on relief was less than that receiving relief from the rates in a normal year in England. Consequently, conclusions were not to be hastily arrived at, as there was a good deal to be said on both sides. Mr. Hughes took the Indians to task for not making greater use of water power. Personally, he was not competent to speak on this subject, but he was told that we were very backward in England in not lighting the country by electricity by using the power of the waves of the surrounding ocean; so that India might not, after all, be so very backward in this behalf. The Mysore Government had shown the way with the Cauvery irrigation scheme, which was going to result in large profits to the Mysore Government, and had already resulted in savings to Mysore gold-fields, where some of the mines were so prosperous that in these bad times they were among the few things good enough to attract the attention of the bears of the Stock Exchange, whose depredations were more destructive than those of the Mysore jungles. He did not, however, wish to enlarge upon that subject lest he should forget at what table he was sitting, and would ask Mr. Puckle to speak on the paper.

MR. PUCKLE, C.I.E., observed that it was so long since he had left India that he had very little to say on the subject, and his recollections would hardly carry him back to such figures as the cost of cultivation, expenses, though he should say they were roughly 30 per cent.; but Mr. Hughes and he had been fellow-workmen together, and he had the greatest interest

in hearing what he had to say on this subject, particularly in the matter of wells, and the indirect benefits to be derived from irrigation works apart from the question of actual interest on the money invested. The three great projects Mr. Hughes had mentioned—the Cauvery, the Tungabudra, and the Kistna—would, as far as he could make out, distinctly benefit seven of the districts of Madras; and as those seven districts constituted mostly a high and dry tract of country, their preservation from famine would be a very great advantage both to the people and to the Government. As to the returns to be derived from the works, he could say nothing; but as to the indirect benefits, in addition to the interest that the works would yield, he quite agreed in all that had been said by the Commissioners as to their being deserving of consideration. Judging from what Mr. Hughes had said, very likely Rs. 12 per acre might be the direct return that the works would bring in. The people, being in such a much better position, would pay more indirect taxation in the way of abkari, excise, stamps, and everything else; and the country would be in such a much more prosperous condition that the Government would benefit considerably by the ability of the people to withstand the effects of drought and famine. As to the wells, he had never been very certain, having seen them utterly dried up in time of famine, and the people busily engaged in deepening them on such occasions. Since his time multitudes of new wells had no doubt been sunk, but, except in very especial situations, they did not yield water when the monsoons failed. They must, therefore, depend entirely on those sources of supply which were apparent and which came from the Ghāt mountains, which were open to the south-west monsoon; for local streams as well as wells dried up, and nothing could be got from them in times of drought. It was only in connection with these main sources of supply, to which Mr. Hughes alluded—the Cauvery, the Tungabudra, and the Kistna—that these great works were to be constructed, they being perennial streams, unaffected by famine or drought.

MR. JOFF, on being called upon, said he had only come to gain information, and in the presence of so many people better acquainted with the subject he feared he could not make any useful contribution to the debate.

MR. ROGERS said he was entirely unacquainted with the districts to which Mr. Hughes had referred, but one or two things had been said with regard to Bombay which he wished to notice. Due credit had been afforded to Bombay as being the first Presidency in which the system of acknowledging the right of any man who made an improvement to the full and continuous benefit of that improvement was acknowledged. But there was one thing further which had not been mentioned which he thought might possibly be adopted; at all events, he would throw it out as a suggestion. At the time of the Revenue Survey Act, in Bombay it was distinctly laid down that, not only all present improvements made by the capital and labour of the *rayat*, but capital and labour expended in the past, should also be taken into consideration. This might possibly apply in Madras—he could not say; but in Bombay the plan adopted was that

wherever irrigation was charged for from private wells, or from wells generally, the extra water-rate was struck off, and the lands under those particular wells were raised to the highest dry-crop rate. That amounted to the same thing, the value of past improvements being recognised, as well as of those within reach of the survey. There were one or two points upon which he wished to ask for information. He had lately seen in the papers a good deal about the assessment of lands which derived water by percolation as the result of the construction of Government works of irrigation, and he wished to know whether and to what extent that was taken into consideration in making the assessments, and in what manner that was done, because he considered it a most difficult thing to see underground and ascertain the amount of percolation. If certain zones were laid out within which it was perfectly certain water could percolate so as to improve the cultivation, well and good, but otherwise he did not see how the matter could be dealt with. He also wished to ask as to the system of assessment in Madras of the second crop. In Bombay they did not assess the second crop, but he thought it feasible, under ordinary circumstances, that the second crop should be assessed. It would be easy to put on extra assessment with the idea that a second crop could be raised. Whenever a second crop could be raised he did not see why the assessment should not be raised proportionately.

MR. MARTIN WOOD thought they were getting a little outside the object of the meeting. The questions as to the assessments and to the wells were very important matters, but they were not the great matter which to-day they had in hand. Considered as a professional paper, Mr. Hughes' paper was everything that could be desired. At first sight it might be thought he had omitted some incidental things, but it would be found they were all there. The great merit of Mr. Hughes' paper was that it summed up in final explanation and review the masterly and wonderful Report of the Commission. This was not so much a question of means and details, or of comparison between large works and small works, but the recognition that the state of things in India during the last twenty or thirty years shewed that the one thing needful in regard to Indian policy was war against drought. They had scarcely caught on to that, he thought, as they ought to have done. With regard to the Royal Commission, he would illustrate what he meant in this way: They began in the latter part of 1891 in Northern Gujerat. By the time they had got through that district there were a dozen or a score of good works that might have been started during the course of the inquiry, but as far as he knew not a single one of these works had been taken in hand. According to the telegram received that morning, Rs. 30,000,000 were to be loaned for public works, railways, and irrigation, but they did not know what proportion was for irrigation and what proportion for railways. Hitherto five or six times as much had been spent upon railways, leaving a heavy debt, as upon water-works of all kinds, which—he believed Mr. Hughes would confirm him—yielded on the whole, taking bad and good together, 5 or 6 per cent. Mr. Hughes now suggested a limit of 3 per cent., and with regard to a large part of the country, as he had reminded them, there could not be larger returns.



They must, therefore, take the country as a whole. It was not a question of what these particular works would pay, or of what large works or small works would pay, but what evil and what loss they would prevent, and in that sense this was a burning question; without the water, people's lives would burn away in misery, and their resources would burn away. Mr. Hughes had referred to the twenty or thirty crores of rupees that had been spent in relief, and that was what they had to look to, not to returns in the tradesman's sense. He trusted that the Council would utilize the occasion of this paper to make some direct appeal to the authorities to urge on these works and get them in hand. As he was saying, some years ago some of these works might have been put in hand, and still more so last year, before last monsoon. The monsoon had now come upon them; their hearts were quaking already as to whether it would come or not, and yet, so far as he knew, nothing was being done with regard to these new works. They were being promised water-storage now but it would require strong pressure, popular pressure, and the pressure of public opinion to give India water-storage. The prime duty of the Indian Government was water-storage; with water-storage irrigation would, of course, follow. He spoke of storage: if they kept the water it would do its work one way or another. They had to urge upon the authorities to give this storage at once, and without waiting; it was, so to speak, war against drought. It might be said this was a reckless policy, but it was not. In the Report of the Commission and such-like documents the need for such a work was recognised, and the interest of this paper was not so much in its excellent and valuable scientific delineation, but in rousing the attention of the public to the fact that this one great want of India should be given the first place; and he would suggest that the Council might at once apply, by deputation or otherwise, to know how much of this loan was going to be spent for water-storage. The subject was full of interest. It was quite right to speak of Madras as the irrigation province of India, though an immense deal had been done in the North-West Provinces, in Cauvery, and elsewhere. They should look at what was to be saved in loss and misery and death, and talk less of the limitations to which the chairman referred. What were brains and engineers for, but to overcome such things? The excuse of financial limitation was the most paltry excuse of all. The half-million of the revenues of India spent over the wretched Thibet business would save a million people alive. No one could say how much of the present allotments were for irrigation.

The CHAIRMAN observed that in the telegram he spoke of £850,000 was allocated to irrigation as distinct from railways.

MR. HUGHES, in reply, said he first wished to explain why his paper was restricted to Madras irrigation. Indian irrigation generally was too big a subject to take up in a single paper, seeing that it required 400 pages of the Report of the Commission to explain exactly how things stood; and, besides that, the irrigation of Madras was the only irrigation with which he was familiar, but he believed the Punjab had about caught up Madras now. With regard to Mr. Rogers' question as to charging for wells near Government works, that matter was explained in the Report of the Com-

mission. With regard to the assessment of wells, the Commission had recommended that some further concessions should be made to the *rayats*.

MR. ROGERS said he wished particularly to know whether Government assessment was charged on second crops.

MR. HUGHES said he believed a composition of the assessment could be made in the case of two crops, but it was optional with the *rayats* to accept such an assessment. When the second crop was separately assessed, it was generally assessed at half-rates. He was not, however, very well up in assessment questions, and did not know what method of assessment prevailed in different places. With regard to the remark of Mr. Martin Wood as to why irrigation works were not generally started after the visit of the Famine Commissioners, he might say that it took a long time to start irrigation fields or works from which there was only the prospect of a very low money return. Madras, however, was a long way in advance of the Indian Government in her ideas as to irrigation, and for a long time had advocated works which should pay only 2 per cent., which had hitherto been the slender return for advances in respect of such works fixed by the Government of India. But he had no doubt a great many works would be put in hand as soon as the Government of India had relaxed the rule about the amount of return required.

The CHAIRMAN asked as to the amount of the cultivation expenses.

MR. HUGHES said they were generally taken at one-third of the value of the crop, but there was probably a difference as between dry crops and wet crops.

MR. HANS RAJ said 50 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN observed that when he had suggested a 50 per cent. deduction on a previous occasion he had been contradicted.

MR. PUCKLE said the amount varied very much, but as far as he could remember, the general deduction was about one-third.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, in proposing a vote of thanks to the reader of the paper, said that though he knew nothing whatever of Madras irrigation, there were one or two general questions raised in the lecture and discussion on which he should like to say a few words to persons who were not Madras experts. He would first desire with all courtesy to deprecate the general attack made by Mr. Martin Wood on the policy of the Indian Government. Looking over the whole world with the exception of the Delta of the Nile, which might be spoken of comparatively as capable of being held in the hollow of one's hand, a small district which would be lost in any one of the Indian Presidencies, they would find no country in which such infinite patience, time, labour, and money had been expended upon irrigation work as in India. The financial requirements of India were so large that the amount which could each year be spent upon irrigation was naturally limited, and during the last few years the ordinary financial limitations had been intensified by special causes familiar to them all.

MR. MARTIN WOOD : Famine included.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said he thought everything had been done which could possibly be done under the circumstances, and in his own province

of the Punjab, which for obvious reasons the lecturer had not touched upon, irrigation works were now being conducted on a scale so extensive that they would surprise, he thought, Mr. Martin Wood if he were aware of them, or if he knew of them he did not understand how Mr. Wood could justify his criticisms.

MR. MARTIN WOOD said such works must be quite new, and ought to have been undertaken thirty years ago.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said it was of no use to criticise the action of the Government in bygone years, what they did or did not do. He was merely speaking of the policy of the Government of India of to-day, emphasized by the telegrams received that morning, to the effect that a very large sum of money—two millions sterling—was about to be raised by loan at rather an inconvenient time for irrigation and railway purposes during the financial year.

MR. MARTIN WOOD : That is only the usual sum each year.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN added that he had been surprised in listening to the paper to hear of the enormous character of the works now being proceeded with in the Madras Presidency. He had lately come from Egypt, and he had seen how largely the prosperity of that country had been stimulated by the great irrigation works at Assouan, Assiout, and the barrage below Cairo, the effect of which was largely to increase the productive power of the Delta of the Nile. Yet these works, which had been the theme of admiration of the world, and in respect of which praises had been justly lavished upon Sir William Garstin, Sir John Aird, Sir Ernest Cassel, and others who had been connected with them, seemed to sink into insignificance when compared with the enormous works now proposed for the Madras Presidency. These works, though not yet sanctioned, he had no doubt would be carried out before long, and then, with Egypt on the one hand and India on the other, we might certainly, without fear of unfavourable criticism, point to the work that England had done in the way of irrigation as being unsurpassed either in ancient or modern times.

MR. PENNINGTON seconded the vote of thanks, and MR. HUGHES having made a brief acknowledgment, the proceedings terminated.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## THE DOMICILED IN INDIA.

SIR,

## THE RACE.

Domiciliation implies alienage. A true Euro-Asian is half a European and half an Indian, and to call him a domiciled European is a liberal concession. But the term "the domiciled" is a misnomer as ordinarily applied to a heterogeneous people, fully one-half of whom are racially aborigines, inasmuch as they are, as they have been for successive generations, vastly more Indian than European, while a large proportion of them are natives pure and simple (and always of the lowest castes), posing as individuals of European descent. A high-caste Hindu convert to Christianity, though adopting European costume, seldom, if ever, assumes a European name, for fear, as he humorously puts it, "of being mistaken for a mission-bred, curry and rice (or an orphanage-raised) Eurasian." The other half of the domiciled are ethnically the converse of that just described—*i.e.*, from the pure down to the not less than half European, who forms the connecting link between the two sections of the community. The complexion of these folk is white of all shades between that of the Anglo-Saxon and the Spaniard, and only they with any propriety can claim the distinction of being described as domiciled Europeans.

## NOMENCLATURE.

Everyone in European costume and having a European patronymic derived by descent, or appropriated at pleasure, determines his or her own nationality. A pure Indian calls himself a *Eurasian*; an individual with from 5 to 50 per cent. of white blood, an *Anglo-Indian*; a white person, irrespective of pedigree, writes himself down a *European*. Latterly the whole race in European dress has named itself *Anglo-Indian* in the Bengal Presidency. Hence the white section differentiates itself by claiming a pure European nationality; it is a self-protective expedient which is justified by the unfortunate predicament in which it finds itself.

## PROGRESSIVE INDIANIZATION OF EURASIA, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Not long since the *Englishman*, in writing of European education in India, said: "It has been calculated that in some European institutions in this city [Calcutta] no less than 33 per cent. of the pupils are *without a trace* of European blood"; and anyone at all interested in the welfare of the community must be alarmed at the statement. The consequence of this commingling is easily forecasted, and that is, the majority of such youths will adopt European names if they have not already done so, as a handsomely paying artifice, and form alliances with those of more or less remote European descent, the offspring claiming to be Euro-Asians, and blatantly asserting their right to appointments reserved for the "European class" of

the natives of India in the Medical, Telegraph, Police, and other departments. Many of such pedigree have already been all too successful in securing these appointments. The carelessness of Government officials in this matter, as well as in that of volunteering—which nearly wrecked the Madras Volunteer Guards a few years ago, and is now keeping out eligible men from it and other corps—has furnished a powerful incentive to the wholesale masquerading which is being vigorously protested against in the newspapers all over India, both by Englishmen and semi-Englishmen. Another incentive is found in the doctrine of “reversion to type,” which, like charity, covers the numerous sins of these aspiring sons of the soil. It is a stock phrase with them: “I’m a Eurasian, though I’m dark; Jones is fair, but he’s a Eurasian, like myself”—rhetorical, but untrue. Cases of reversion to the Indian type there are to be sure (all too many, it is feared, for the complacency of the community); but in families in which the blood of both the races is in equal proportions, semi-whites, and occasionally pure whites, are also to be found, so that an Indian-looking member can always prove his nationality by the testimony of the others. Such a type of individual would be a startling *rara avis* in a quadroon family, and a search for one in an octoroon household would be vain. Pseudo-Eurasians—viz., current accessions from *les indigènes* and traditional Eurasians with or without a suspicion of white blood imported into their veins in the dim, distant past—are of a fixed type of Asiatic humanity. To speak of a wholesale reversion to that type in their case is, therefore, ridiculously unscientific, and a libel on Dame Nature, who is not less generous than severe in her dispensations.

The persistent invasion of Eurasia will, in the near future, so attenuate the European element in it as to make it quite a negligible quantity, and then woe to the conquered. The race will be more deservedly discredited and generally despised than it is at present; and it is not too rash to predict that it will prove to be a delusion and a snare, a broken reed, if leaned upon in an emergency, especially in the case of volunteer regiments. That this is not the pessimism of a prejudiced writer will be seen from the following quotation from the *Lancet*:

“The 800 unmounted volunteers who were at the Delhi Durbar afforded Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Brooke an opportunity of showing in his report various particulars of the general physical condition of the men under his charge. . . . He has no hesitation in saying that on field service fully 35 per cent. of the men would have been useless. Volunteers in India are largely composed of men of mixed blood; in fact, the cry has gone up that in some corps there is very little distinction between the men and the natives, and even that in many cases typical natives have been admitted. This is a serious question, because the volunteers in India are more likely to be called upon for duty than are those at home, and physical unfitness in so large a proportion would cause us to live (if the volunteers are to be of any use) in a fools’ paradise.”

In these circumstances it is inconceivable why prompt measures should not be taken to purge the *quasi-auxiliary European* army of its detrimental, as is being done in the native army.

REMEDIAL MEASURES.

a) *Official*.—No device at this acute stage of affairs would altogether prevent natives from merging into Eurasia, or succeed in evicting those already in it; but much may be done in this direction in connection with volunteering and the recruitment of men in the Government departments already named, who are expected to possess such qualities of the European race as are considered to be indispensable in those services. I have for many years considered that but one criterion should be adopted for determining the nationality of any member of the domiciled race. I have lived to see my worst fears realized by its neglect. At the same time, I am glad to find that two of the most eminently practical societies—viz., officers of British regiments and British traders—have cut the Gordian knot to their own satisfaction as well as that of the genuine domiciled. Under an old Government ruling, men of a certain pedigree are admissible into the European army, but commanding officers will not accept some on this ground alone. Indeed, they ignore pedigree, and, all other things being equal, enlist men who are approximately British-looking. As to the trade, in their advertisements for shop-tenders of both sexes, the eligibility of candidates is clearly indicated in the terms, "None but Europeans and fair Eurasians need apply." The terms are all but synonymous. Here, then, we have the colour line distinctly laid down, and the chiefs of the Government establishments referred to, as also officers commanding volunteer regiments, might in all reason adopt it—though with more elasticity and *justice*, it might be added—in the interests of the State and to their own credit. That is to say, if a man does not distinctly impress one at first sight as being of at least half-white descent, he should be given the opportunity of proving, beyond the shadow of a shade of a doubt, that he *is* such an entity. Baptismal certificates, solemn declarations, references to tradition, school certificates, the testimony of folks themselves of doubtful origin, or of white or whitish relations by marriage, should be accounted as valueless, as indeed they are. There are other occupations innumerable, both in and out of the Government service, in which *quasi* Eurasians can find ample scope for their talents and character, and they are not of a mean order. The indirect effect of such a procedure would help to correct the imprudent marriages now so lightly contracted. Volunteer officers and principals of schools are chiefly responsible for the chow-chow which the civic soldiery and the pupils of both sexes present on public occasions. The laxity has pecuniary considerations for its *raison d'être*. If inspectors of schools were empowered to demand certificates from those concerned to the effect that the pupils are of proved European descent, and at the same time to ask for the proofs forthcoming in the cases of those whose nationality is suspicious, before passing the Government grant claimed, there would not be a repetition of the farce of 33 per cent. of natives being educated in European schools, as in Calcutta, to swamp Eurasia and denationalize it.

(b) *Social*.—The white section of the community could also resist the incoming tide of dark blood by refusing to form alliances with any but those of their own racial standard. Guilds should be formed all over the

country, having for their social creed and conduct, "No more Indianization ; no more mésalliances."

A Eurasian of the class whom I have already described despises the womenkind of his own pedigree as a rule, and literally thirsts for a white wife. Unfortunately, he too often succeeds in obtaining one from an indigent family, or with greater facility from an orphan asylum, as the clergy seem indifferent who a suitor is, so long as the orphanage is relieved of the burden of a marriageable girl. A white man with a dark wife clinging to his arm is not a refreshing sight, but a cadaverous Othello leading a blonde, or even a brunette, to the hymeneal altar is a spectacle that might move an angel to tears.

R. A. BUTTERFIELD.

INDIA,  
March, 1904.

P.S.—In view of the foregoing, it becomes a matter for consideration whether the percentage of native Indians allowed to enter the Civil Service of India and Cooper's Hill College (to say nothing of the commissioned ranks of the Indian Medical Service) should be held to include low-caste men sartorially transformed into Eurasians, either in the past or present.

R. A. B.

#### A LOST MANUSCRIPT.

SIR,

Will you be so kind as to help the search for a missing manuscript by allowing me to make its loss known in your columns ?

It is that copy of the Turki text of the Emperor Babar's Memoirs which the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone lent to Dr. Leyden and to Mr. W. Erskine for their translations.

There can be no doubt that it was in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh in 1848. No trace of it can now be found there.

If any of your readers has knowledge of the existence of a copy of the Babar-nama (which is variously entitled also the Tuzuk-i-babari and the Waqiat-i-babari), he would confer a real service by giving information of it to the writer of this letter.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

PITFOLD, SHOTTERMILL,  
HASLEMERE R.S.O., SURREY,  
March, 1904.

#### GONDOKORO.

Lord Cromer, having visited the Belgian stations of Kiro and Lado, and also Gondokoro in the Uganda Protectorate, reports his impressions to Lord Lansdowne as follows :\*

"It must be remembered that the 1,100 miles of country which I traversed between Khartoum and Gondokoro has, until recently, been the prey of slave-dealers, Egyptian Pashas, and dervishes. Under the circumstances, it might well have been expected that much time would be re-

\* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper, Africa, No. 1 (1904) ; presented to Parliament February, 1904.

quired to inspire confidence in the intentions of the new Government. It is, however, certain that, with the exception of a portion of the Nuer tribe, who live in a very remote region on the upper waters of the Sobat, confidence has been completely established in those districts which are under British rule. Except in the uninhabitable 'sudd' region, numerous villages are dotted along the banks of the river. The people, far from flying at the approach of white men, as was formerly the case, run along the banks, making signs for the steamer to stop. It is clear that the Baris, Shilluks, and Dinkas place the utmost trust and confidence in the British officers with whom they are brought in contact. In spite of the difficulties of communicating with them through an interpreter—himself but slightly educated—it was impossible to mistake their manifest signs and expressions of security and content. They flock into the settlements without fear; and if, as often happens, they will not work, it is merely because they are lazy, and have few wants, not because they entertain doubt that they will be paid for working. These remarks apply equally to Gondokoro, although I was only able to see a few of the natives there. I had not time to visit the principal Bari village, which lies at some little distance from the river.

"The contrast when once Congolese territory is entered is remarkable. From the frontier to Gondokoro is about eighty miles. The proper left, or western, bank of the river is Belgian. The opposite bank is either under the Soudanese or the Uganda Government. There are numerous islands, and as all these are under British rule—for the thalweg, which, under treaty, is the Belgian frontier, skirts the western bank of the river—I cannot say that I had an opportunity of seeing a full eighty miles of Belgian territory. At the same time, I saw a good deal, and I noticed that, whereas there were numerous villages and huts on the eastern bank and on the islands, on the Belgian side not a sign of a village existed. Indeed, I do not think that any one of our party saw a single human being in Belgian territory, except the Belgian officers and men and the wives and children of the latter. Moreover, not a single native was to be seen either at Kiro or Lado. I asked the Swedish officer at Kiro whether he saw much of the natives. He replied in the negative, adding that the nearest Bari village was situated at some distance in the interior. The Italian officer at Lado, in reply to the same question, stated that the nearest native village was seven hours distant. The reason of all this is obvious enough. The Belgians are disliked. The people fly from them, and it is no wonder they should do so, for I am informed that the soldiers are allowed full liberty to plunder, and that payments are rarely made for supplies. The British officers wander, practically alone, over most parts of the country, either on tours of inspection or on shooting expeditions. I understand that no Belgian officer can move outside the settlements without a strong guard. It appears to me that the facts which I have stated above afford amply sufficient evidence of the spirit which animates the Belgian Administration, if, indeed, Administration it can be called. The Government, so far as I could judge, is conducted almost exclusively on commercial principles, and, even judged by that standard, it would appear that those principles are somewhat shortsighted."



## THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE.

A General Report by His Majesty's Commissioner has been presented to Parliament,\* in which he states :

"From April 1, 1902, that portion of Uganda lying to the east of the Victoria Nyanza, and formerly known as the Eastern Province, was severed from Uganda and transferred to the East Africa Protectorate. With this exception the boundaries of Uganda remained unchanged during the year. . . .

"The Uganda Protectorate is administered by His Majesty's Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, under the direction of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Commissioner is assisted by a Deputy-Commissioner and a staff of three Sub-Commissioners, seven Collectors, and thirteen Assistant Collectors, and resides at Entebbe, the administrative capital of the Protectorate, where are also located the High Court, the Treasury, and other departments of the Administration. For administrative and political purposes the Protectorate is divided into five provinces, consisting of the Kingdom of Uganda, the Western Province, the Central Province, the Nile Province, and the Rudolf Province. . . .

"The first work of British administration in Uganda was to establish peace, and to curb the despotic and tyrannous rule under which the people lived in the time of Mwanga and former Kings. To those who laboured so successfully towards this end, and to those whose work lay during the dark and anxious days of the rebellion and the mutiny, are due the results which are now apparent in the Uganda of to-day—results which render the work of present-day government comparatively easy, and as free from anxiety on account of serious trouble as it is interesting and pleasant. Tyranny and oppression have been put down, and peace and order have been firmly established over the settled portions of the Protectorate, and laws and regulations enacted giving equal justice to all. In the kingdom of Uganda the Chiefs and land-holders have been awarded estates which yet remain to be demarcated by the survey, and in the lesser kingdoms of Unyoro, Toro, and Ankole, the people have settled down to the peaceful cultivation of their lands. Trade and cultivation have been freed from the restrictions under which they suffered, and intercommunication between provinces, impossible a few years ago, is now a matter of ordinary daily occurrence. The fact that natives of, say, Ankole and Unyoro can move as freely through Uganda and other parts of the Protectorate as in their own country strikes them as, perhaps, the most direct evidence of our rule. The carrying of arms is rapidly being discontinued; it is rare now that one sees weapons in the more settled districts, and caravans of porters pass from Busoga in the east to Toro in the west without escort and without fear of molestation. . . .

"In civilization and general well-being progress has been made. The chiefs are taking more readily to Western methods in the conduct of their affairs, and evince a desire to adapt themselves more and more to the higher conditions of life which have been introduced among them. The visit of the Katikiro Apolo to England, where he had the honour of being

\* Africa, No. 15, 1903. Presented to Parliament December, 1903.

present at His Majesty's coronation, has been productive of good. On his return his account of the places he visited, and his descriptions of our arts and manufactures, railways, and the scenes of daily life he witnessed, were listened to with the keenest interest. The Uganda railway is rapidly revolutionizing the conditions of life on this side of the lake; prices of necessaries have fallen; other articles are being introduced which it was impossible to obtain before. The chiefs are commencing to build houses on European methods, to fit them with the more ordinary pieces of furniture, and to appreciate many of the articles in daily use in England. . . . Trade has increased considerably, and an impetus has been given to cultivation and agriculture throughout the Protectorate. Peace and order have been maintained; there is a marked absence of the more serious forms of crime, and life and property are as safe to-day as in any portion of His Majesty's dominions."

### SOUTHERN NIGERIA.

The Acting High Commissioner, Mr. L. Probyn, in July last, reports for 1902:\*

"During the year 1902 the Protectorate was freed for ever from the evils of slave-raiding and slave-dealing on an organized scale. On April 1, 1901, 'The Slave-dealing Proclamation' was published, and on November 26, 1901, the provisions of that law, making slave-dealing in all its forms a penal offence, were applied by order to all parts of the Protectorate; but it was not until the termination in April, 1902, of the successful military operations in the Aro country that the system of tribal warfare for the purpose of making slaves could be accurately regarded as an evil of the past.

"The southern part of the Protectorate is a delta country, through the low lands of which the Ossa, Niger, Engenni, Opobo, and Cross Rivers force their way through winding, sluggish creeks to the sea. At a distance varying from forty to seventy miles from the coast higher land is met, the zone on which the oil-palm flourishes is passed, and the country, undulating for the most part, but in many places very hilly, stretches northward to the boundary with the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, which runs east and west at a distance of 180 miles from the sea. Slave-raiding had been repressed for many years previous to 1902 in the delta country, and in all the hinterland above described except that part of the latter which lies between the Niger and the Cross River (a distance of 100 miles), and it was throughout this region that the Aro influence was predominant.

"The most noteworthy fact brought to light by the military operations in the last stronghold of slavery above described was that the Aros were not a military race, and that their influence was due to their relatively great intelligence as compared with other native tribes. The strength of this influence was such that not only was it paramount in the Aro country, but was also felt in many places in the delta region between the Niger

\* Laid before Parliament in November, 1903, No. 405, Colonial Reports.

and the Cross River, and also to the east of the latter. Whenever a tribe attempted to avoid acting in accordance with the Aro policy, it was fought by warlike tribes under the direction of the Aros, who recompensed such mercenaries by allowing them to loot the conquered tribe, and to seize and sell as slaves those who survived the conflict. Within the area of the direct Aro influence no important dispute could be settled save by reference to the oracle in the Juju, or sacred grove, situated in a ravine near Ibum (Aro Chuku). Each of the contending parties attempted to propitiate this oracle by large offerings, and the party against whom judgment was pronounced was believed by his tribes to have been destroyed by the hidden power, while in reality he was almost invariably sold secretly into slavery. As the tribe supposed to be specially favoured by this oracle, the Aros were able to gain wealth in the shape both of propitiatory offerings and of slaves. In addition to being a constant source of wealth, the Juju oracle also afforded the Aros a means whereby anyone opposing, or supposed to be desirous of opposing, their authority could be easily removed, as they could at any time contrive that a charge should be made against the rebel, thus forcing him to appeal to the oracle, and then, on his arrival at Ibum, he would either be made powerless through parting with all his wealth as an offering, or, if his gifts were insufficient, his doom would be pronounced by Aro priests hidden in a concealed cave in the sacred ravine, and thereafter the Aro opponent became the Aro slave."

The Aros do not appear to have resorted to trial by ordeal. This mode of testing the truth of witnesses is resorted to largely by the natives in many parts of the Protectorate, and is, of course, of ancient origin. The abuse of this practice was checked by a proclamation drafted in 1902, viz., the "Ordeal, Witchcraft, and Juju Proclamation, 1903," No. 13 of 1903.

"The military operations which were brought to a successful close in 1902 destroyed the system of slave-making above described, and the dreaded Juju oracle ceased for ever to exercise its baneful influence. The Aros themselves, however, were not destroyed, but, on the contrary, immediately gave further proof of their intelligence by adapting themselves to the new conditions of life. It had been their practice to prevent tribes within their influence from attempting to do a direct trade with the delta country, and thus they alone had experience in trade. They at once began to utilize this experience; they readily learnt to appreciate the superior value of English currency as compared with the native mediums of barter, manillas, brass rods, etc., and by their activity showed that for many years they would be probably the principal gainers in any increased trade which might result from their country having been thrown open to the delta traders."

The assets and liabilities show an excess of assets over liabilities of £178,517 as compared with £144,177, the corresponding excess shown in the same return for 1900-1901. This is likely to increase on all heads of revenue.

"The expansion of a wholesome trade will itself spread cultivation amongst the natives; the natives will also gradually become more cultivated through the influence of the increasing number of those educated in the

Protectorate schools. The most widespread, powerful, and rapidly acting influence tending to elevate the natives will, however, be found in the Native Councils, *provided the latter are constantly supervised by European officers*. The number of properly constituted and organized Native Councils is increasing, and this increase will be continuous. The increase in the number of Native Councils will necessarily involve an increase in the number of District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners, but the extra expenditure thus incurred will be relatively insignificant when compared with the increase in the revenue of the Protectorate."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Bushido, the Soul of Japan: An Exposition of Japanese Thought*, by INAZO NITOBÉ, A.M., PH.D., Tokyo, Japan, 2562 (1902).

In this fascinating book of 109 pages, the author attempts to show his readers what moral instruction is instilled into the youth of Japan, although no actual religious instruction is given, and he does so very thoroughly, and proves that the code of ethics they are taught is a very high one.

Bushido signifies "Military Knight Ways" in literal translation, and may be most satisfactorily rendered as the "Precepts of Knighthood." The Bu-Shi were the knightly class, the Samurai, and "as among flowers the cherry is queen, so among men the Samurai is lord." The influence of the precepts, which were the guiding rule of life of the Samurai, became from the time of Yoritomo the ideal of the Japanese people. The origins of Bushido were various: Buddhism brought submission to the inevitable, Shintoism loyalty to the Sovereign and filial piety, and the study of Confucius and Mencius had a great deal of influence in forming the rules; for Bushido was not a religion, not an end, but a means to the attainment of wisdom, that the Chinese ideal of Wan Yang Ming, "To know and to act are one and the same," might be acquired.

Bushido lays great stress on Justice, *Gishi*, "a man of rectitude," being a title of respect, and on *Gi-ri*, the duty which follows the understanding of obligations; and when this duty threatened to become a tyranny, it was tempered by "daring and bravery" as well as "benevolence"; the latter included Bushi-no nasaké, "the tenderness of a warrior." Many of the dicta seem strangely familiar. Mencius says, "The feeling of distress is the note of benevolence"; and the Prince of Shirakawa, "Though they may wound your feelings, there are three you only have to forgive: the breeze that scatters your flowers, the cloud that hides your moon, and the man who tries to pick quarrels with you." Perhaps the most interesting portion of *Bushido* is the development of politeness. Politeness is not only a virtue, but one of the most important, though it is limited in its turn by others. "Propriety carried beyond the right limits," says Masamuné, "becomes a lie," and lies, in the military code, were (in theory at least) contemned, "the word of a Samurai" being equal to his bond. Yet the irreconcilable nature of perfect truth and politeness was recognised: "To sacrifice truth for the sake of politeness was regarded as an empty form (*Kyo-ré*) and deception by sweet words."

Honour was a virtue, and loyalty the primary duty before affection. Yet a "Nei-Shin," or sycophant, was despised. It was to loyalty that the training of a Samurai was directed, the chief supports being *Chi, Jin, Yu*—Wisdom, Benevolence, and Courage. Incidental stress was laid on two knightly qualities foreign to Western chivalry, *Jiu jutsu*—knowledge of anatomy, that one's opponent may be incapacitated, and calligraphy.

To this training the author ascribes the self-control of the Japanese, which is sparing of emotion both in pleasure and in grief. It is this that

makes a bereaved mother sing that her dead child has gone on his wonted butterfly hunt :

" How far to-day in chase, I wonder,  
Has gone my hunter of the dragon-fly " ? ;

and this self-control was the cause of *Hara Kiri*, or self-immolation by suicide, and the necessary restraint on the potent reverence of the sword of the Samurai.

The author deals with Bushido and the Japanese woman, but rather less happily. The statement that " woman's surrender of herself to the good of the home and family was as worthy and honourable as man's self-surrender to the good of his lord and country " does not sound to us quite convincing, though he is probably correct in stating that the real reverence of women was quite as strong as under the influence of chivalry, where " the morality was coarse and gallantry implied illicit love."

In conclusion, this most interesting book points out that these moral precepts permeate the whole of Japanese thought, that they have a vast influence on the whole life of the people, and that they are not antagonistic or likely to be displaced by the efforts of Christian missionaries ; and by explaining the thought of his own country he assuredly makes us understand better the causes of the charm, courtesy, and grace of the Japanese people.—F. S.

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CHAPMAN AND HALL, LIMITED ; LONDON, 1903.

2. *China Past and Present*, by EDWARD HARPER PARKER, Professor of Chinese at the Owens College, Manchester, formerly H.B.M. Consul at K'ungchow, author of " China," " John Chinaman," etc.

This volume by so great an authority on China\* and the Chinese is mostly a reprint of articles which have already appeared in publications such as the *Nineteenth Century*, *Cornhill Magazine*, the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, etc. The first chapter, containing a sketch of Chinese history, is quite new, and other articles have either been rewritten or recast. Mr. Parker in nine books, consisting of thirty-one chapters, deals with the " Boxer " wars, religion, Imperial power, the foreigner, Mandarin or official Celestial peculiarities, political and the seamy side. Much useful and entertaining information can be found in the work, which is accompanied by an index and a good map.

3. *Life and Sport in China*, by OLIVER G. READY.

This is a thoroughly frank and wholesome book of purely personal experience, without any attempt at " side," cleverness, or opinionism. I should be disposed to say that there was not a single new statement of fact in it from the first page to the last. On the other hand, I do not believe there is one single exaggeration or misstatement—at all events an inexcusable, careless, or intentional one—in the whole book. Mr. Ready was, though he does not tell us so, in the Maritime Customs service, and of course, therefore, his means for acquiring facts at first-hand were varied, various, and of the best. For the general public of " ordinary men," whose thirst for knowledge does not soar beyond the plain, straightforward, and commonplace, there could not be a better traveller's book ; for it is light

to hold, light in style, humane, easy to understand, clearly printed, true to nature, and thoroughly local in its "China-hand" tone. Regarding the difficulty of procuring mares from the Mongols (p. 78), there are several mentions in the Mongol history of attempts to "rake in" all the mares procurable in China; the policy is a very ancient one. Touching the fishing with an otter (p. 107), I have seen probably the same Chinamen, certainly in exactly the same place, fishing from a boat with possibly that identical otter. As to catching with the hand fish lying torpid from the cold, I once myself accidentally caught a *samlai* fish weighing about 3 or 4 pounds whilst splashing about in the water during a freshet near Kewkiang, and this, moreover, without even intending to catch it. The "ghost-story" about the dying horse is a very good one, and it possesses the advantage of being perfectly true; it is satisfactory to notice, however, that the judicious author sensibly puts it down to coincidence, and does not attempt to labour the point. His views on missionaries are eminently just, sound, and sensible. The one point on which he is, perhaps, a little shaky, is that of knowledge of Chinese. At best the Customs men do not shine in this respect, for Sir Robert Hart has, from the beginning, made the fatal mistake (possibly in his own interest, but certainly not in the Chinese Government interest) of not insisting upon a couple of initiatory years at Peking for such service; it follows that few Customs men have ever got beyond the calibre of sound "hacks." It is true that no grown-up foreigner can ever talk quite like a native; but that is because no adult foreigner ever lives entirely with and like a native in all respects, and can therefore never get into the same train of thought about the same surroundings. Foreign children of four years old, living all day with ayahs, speak Chinese with absolute perfection, and they would also write with the brush properly if they were bred up to do so like the Chinese boys. Quite a number of Europeans write correctly, but it is not worth their while to waste time over a brush. As to composing documents, this has been done, but few are equal to it. It is nonsense to talk (p. 222) about there being 100,000 Chinese characters: the utmost is 40,000, of which 25,000 are practically obsolete, repetitions, fanciful, variants, or totally useless. In historical matters the Chinese book knowledge possessed by foreigners may be, and is, far ahead of that of any Chinese in existence. The most learned Chinese is totally unable to understand clearly the valuable Chinese histories of the Turks, the Ephthalites, the Cambodgians, the Mongols, or even the Japanese, Coreans, and Annamese. On the other hand, few, if any, foreigners can "compose" for examination; the reason is because the subjects are twaddle, pure and simple. It might as well be said that Lord Kelvin could not preach as well as a common Welsh Methodist *parch.*—E. H. PARKER.

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ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK; LONDON, 1903.

4. *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, by STANLEY A. COOK, M.A.

This is a highly valuable contribution to the knowledge of the subject of which it treats. An idea of the nature and scope of the work may be

gathered from the author's own words. "The chief aim of the present study," he writes, "is to provide a full account of the contents of the recently-discovered Babylonian Code of Laws promulgated in the twenty-third century before Christ by Hammurabi—the King whose name has been identified with Amraphel, the contemporary of Abraham (see Gen. xiv. 1). The fact that it is the oldest collection of Laws in existence, and the advanced state of culture which Babylonia had reached, even at that remote period, make the Code one of the most notable discoveries in the history of cuneiform research; and the great interest which it has succeeded in arousing is evinced by the rapidly-growing number of monographs, pamphlets, and articles which have lately appeared in print. To jurists and students of comparative Law this Code has, by reason of its antiquity, an importance surpassing that of similar collections from India, Greece, or Rome." The book is very elaborate as regards execution, and is altogether a work for the learned. Besides a most useful "General Index," there are also, at the end, two other Indexes—the one an Index to the Code itself, and the other an Index to the Bible-passages, from the Old Testament and from the New, cited in the course of the work. All such references will be found most helpful to the usefulness of the work. Altogether it is a neat and handy volume of a little over 300 pages. It is admirably printed, and there are learned and up-to-date notes at the foot of the page throughout the work.—B.

W. THACKER AND CO.; 2, CREED LANE, LONDON, E.C., AND  
CALCUTTA, 1903.

5. *A Digest of Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, by SIR ROLAND KNYVET WILSON, LL.M., etc.; second edition.

This is the most important work on the subject of Muhammadan Law of which we have any knowledge. It is introduced by a historical and descriptive account of the special rules nowadays applicable to Muhammadans as such by the Civil Courts of British India, with full references to modern and ancient authorities. This, the second edition, is revised and much enlarged. Works on this subject require to be often re-issued, owing to the new developments that are ever and anon occurring in the cases that come before the Courts. The various "rulings" in the different causes require that such works should be brought up to date. A list of the "rulings" in cases that have been brought before the Courts since 1895 is given in the Preface; and such a list alone would be sufficient to render a re-issue of the work necessary to students of Muhammadan Law. It is, in fact, a work for lawyers, especially Indian lawyers, and it contains legal principles and precedents innumerable. Besides the Table of Contents, we have yet another table containing a large number of "cases" alphabetically arranged. The Index at the end contains references not so much to "cases" as to facts and details of a more general and comprehensive nature which come in for mention in the course of the work. Altogether, this is a work which members of the Indian Courts and the Indian Civil Service, and all who are concerned with the administration of law in India, whether there or here, will find it necessary to possess.—B.



LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. ; LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY, 1903.

6. *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, by the late PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER.

This work forms volume xix. of the collected works of the distinguished German scholar who lately was removed from us. It has already, in the former edition, been reviewed in these pages, and it therefore needs not anything now by way of lengthy notice ; while to all who are acquainted with the writings of the great *savant*, his name will be a sufficient guarantee for sound workmanship. As to the subject of the volume—the “*Shaṭa Darshana Darpana*” (or “*Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*”)—all who are acquainted with the classical literature of the Hindús are already informed respecting the place and importance of the said systems in the thought of cultured Hindús. The present issue contains nothing new or additional from the pen of Max Müller himself, but a brief note introducing this issue is prefixed from the pen of Mrs. Max Müller. It is a neat and presentable volume of 360 pages, followed by a good Index.—B.

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LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON, 1903.

7. *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, by Dr. T. J. DE BOER, University of Groningen. Translated by EDWARD R. JONES, B.D.

In dealing with this subject, the writer divides it into a series of chapters, the sections of which are carefully noted in the beginning of the work under each of the chapter-headings. Although the work is included in a little more than 200 pages, yet the field of view is immense, and altogether the work is a marvel of comprehensiveness and condensation. It is not, as works on Islámic subjects so often are, a controversial work ; it will, however, be found to be a quarry from which materials of controversy may be dug. It is, as we believe, the most useful work of its kind that has ever yet appeared in our language, and it will undoubtedly be found to be of the greatest possible value to missionaries, historians, and all students of subjects relating to the Arabians of sub-Islámic times.—B.

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GEORGE ALLEN ; LONDON,

8. *In Russian Turkestan*, by ANNETTE M. B. MEAKIN.

This is a pleasant and well-written book of personal experience, without any pretence to exact history, up-to-date science, or profound learning. Like most books upon Turkestan, it opens with a discussion of the words “*Sart*,” “*Tajik*,” and “*Usbeg*,” which seem, however, to be rather inconsistently used by the author in some places, and to overlap in each other's supposed exact significations without adding any new light. The first practical thing that strikes the reader is the unmistakable benefit which the Russian occupation, despite its many short-comings and corruptions, has conferred upon these once fanatical Khanates. Very remarkable, indeed, is the new cotton industry, more especially in Merv and Namaghan—old enough in itself, forsooth, for it was from Turkestan that the Chinese first received not only cotton, but also grapes, water-melons, and lucerne, all of which still bear foreign names in the Chinese language—but new in the

sense that an impetus has been given to cotton-growing by the introduction of spinning and other machinery. Not only is cotton from American seed now displacing the beautiful local silk, but, if the Russians only know how to play their cards well, they may yet succeed in competing with America for the Manchester market.

Touching social customs, the author (p. 139) says: "Polyandry does exist in some parts of Central Asia, but not in Turkestan." It is quite possible that polyandry may have died out in the Oxus Valley, but there are three distinct and detailed Chinese descriptions of its existence in Tokhara (Marco Polo's Dogana) in the sixth century—*i.e.*, in the very region visited by Miss Meakin; and no Chinese mention of the custom *in any other part* of Central Asia occurs in standard history, so far as I know.

On p. 96 allusion is made to the flatness of Sart heads at the back, and the author informs us, on the authority of a Russian medical man, that keeping babies on their backs for hours at a time on a hard cotton quilt is the cause of this peculiarity; but in an added note she makes allusion to "head-shaping in the Punjaub," and expresses some doubt as to the correctness of her previous judgment touching Turkestan. As a matter of fact, head-shaping by the Sarts is several times mentioned in Chinese history, notably in the instances of Kashgar and Kutchá 1,200 years ago; moreover, the Tunguses and Koreans both used to flatten their babies' heads artificially. Both polyandry and head-shaping are probably Tartar customs introduced by the Ephthalites or Turko-Tibetan-Huns.

The sixteen full-page illustrations are of an excellent quality, and give us very vivid notions of these sunny, dry, fruity, itchy, freezing, and intolerant climes, where women's rights are next to *nil*, and women's freedom is quite *nil*. Many of the etymological derivations suggested—as, for instance, in the words Dungan, Kirghiz, Kokand, Uzbeg, etc.—are more original than seriously scientific. In only one instance does a French quotation occur—"Ils sont si sâles"—which can hardly be a compositor's or reader's fault, for there are practically no other mistakes in punctuation, grammar, or type throughout the whole work. On the whole, the book is decidedly a good and honest one.—E. H. PARKER.

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CASELL AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK, AND  
MELBOURNE, 1903.

9. *Li Hung-chang: His Life and Times*, by MRS. ARCHIBALD LITTLE.  
Price 15s.

Mrs. Little is too well known to need introduction or recommendation. Of the present book it may safely be said that it will add to her reputation in the minds of those who read it through. The old story of Gordon and the gory head of the surrendered Taiping prince is told again with more wealth of detail than usual; the mere fact of the gallant soldier "weeping hysterically" with the reeking head in his hand partly explains why he never exactly "caught on" as a leader of genuine Tommy Atkinses. Brave, virtuous, and enthusiastic as the people's hero undoubtedly was, he was far too emotional for most of the matter-of-fact and

work-a-day purposes of British life, and the present writer had ample proof of this fact on the only occasion on which he met him. He was not a "safe" man; he was cut out to be a Mahomet rather than a Julius Cæsar.

Mrs. Little's is essentially a woman's book, from the dedication right down to the index (which only covers six pages)—that is to say, a woman's point of view, a woman's method of expression, a woman's sense of proportion—each runs riot, and is manifest in every line. To many this tragic style will appear all the more advantageous, and will appeal to their imagination and sympathy. A more virile method would discard the history of all the heart-searchings, motives, scruples, "feelin's," etc., that actuated this or that character in the Chinese drama, and go straight to the historical point. But in so doing the imprudent member of the coarser sex would probably reduce the bulk of his book by three-quarters, and would certainly reduce his mass of human sympathy, according to present English standards, by perhaps one-half. For instance, the blood-curdling picture of that "remorseless woman," the old Empress, would lose much of its dramatic savour were it deprived of all the "it is said" which go to make it up into one fairly consistent whole. As a matter of fact, she is not (from the above-mentioned virile point of view) one whit worse, as a mere mortal, than the average crowned head in modern Europe; and the "poor young dead girl" she is supposed to have murdered is by no means a historical "fact." Even if she was got rid of, suicide, even forced suicide, is a political virtue in China; and as to murder, the ruling families of more than one Slav nation have State secrets of their own just as dramatic, and even more sordid. The fact is, the Chinese were a very happy nation, well contented with the very best dynasty they ever had, until we saintly Europeans appeared upon the scene with our opium, our guns, and our bibles.

Any man may be made by his biographer to look either like a hero or like a scoundrel, and this without deliberately misrepresenting proved and plain facts; all depends upon the "psychological subjectivity" of the biographer. To read the "lives" the missionaries write of each other, one would think them all John the Baptists, minus even the wild honey. Personally, I knew Li Hung-chang, and must have read most of his State papers during the last thirty years of his life. To me he was a man of high literary, but very ordinary "human" capacity, able chiefly in the fields of gerrymandering, speculation, and intrigue. To crown all, it seems to be chiefly due to his blundering spite and careless corruption that China first seriously damaged herself by engaging, unprepared, in war with Japan; and, secondly, sold herself, "body and soul," to Russia, so far as Li Hung-chang was able to rig the thimbles.

Turning now from the wily old statesman himself to the charming personality of his biographer, I find before me a genuine Chinese document composed by the really able and honest Viceroy, Ts'ên Ch'un-süan, now at Canton, but formerly (with Mrs. Little) in Sz Ch'wan. He says, in reference to Mrs. Archibald Little's admirable "squeezed foot" crusade: "Just as once upon a time in America a single unprotected female, *P'i-ch'a*

(Beecher), roused the conscience of the nation by a stirring book on slavery ('Uncle Tom's Cabin'), so does this fair creature, Dame Lih, *née* Pêh (Little, *née* Bewicke), fairly arouse the conscience of long-benighted China upon the subject of 'tootsicums.'" I take much more interest in Mrs. Little than I do in Li Hung-chang, for (amongst other reasons) I know less of her. "Albrecht Wirtts" (p. 350) is Dr. A. Wirth in disguise.  
—E. H. PARKER.

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"CHRONICLE" OFFICE; KOBÉ, JAPAN.

10. *A History of Japan (During the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse, 1542-1651)*, by JAMES MURDOCH, M.A.

The cover of this fine volume of over 700 pages (price £1) bears the above title, minus the important qualifying words in brackets. For the majority of European readers, especially in these busy days, the history of Japan, in fact, practically begins with the organization of the country during the century in question—*i.e.*, it begins with the relations between Japan and Europe. Previous to that there are 1,000 years of Chinese civilization, without external relations of any political importance, except, perhaps, with Corea; and previous to that, again, 600 years during which the congeries of Japanese and Ainu tribelets were more or less known to the Chinese governors of what we now call Chih Li and Chêh Kiang, and to no one else. As to the supposed Japanese history anterior to the introduction of Chinese writing and civilization, I have fully set forth the truth in volume xxii. of the *China Review*, pp. 60-74.

At the present moment, when the brave Japanese nation, "conscious of its historic mission," which is in no way less worthy of our sympathy and respect than that of Russia, stands nobly forward to encounter, single-handed, the insatiable Northern Colossus, Mr. Murdoch's admirable work appears most opportunely. Based, as it is, upon original documentary evidence, and upon personal experience of the scenes and sites described, it at once secures our complete confidence, and securely enables us to trace, step by step, the evolution of this astonishingly virile race from exclusive feudalism into a genuine *Weltmacht*. From first to last the book is replete with European interest, so that the timid English reader need not fear being confronted on every page with unsympathetic ideas. He will be much more profitably employed in reading this book than in wasting his time upon Hall Caine's or Marie Corelli's imaginative works—how the Portuguese discovered Japan; the introduction and vicissitudes of Christianity; the career of the Japanese Napoleon, Hideyoshi; the Tokugawn administration system (Shōgūnate); the English Factory; Will Adams; the Portuguese and Dutch rivalries; and the deliberate completion of the exclusion programme (which lasted until forty-five years ago). It will be observed that the history under notice does not deal with contemporary times, but simply sets out, in an absolutely authentic way, the particulars of *how* the Japanese developed into what they were when we first "found them" and had open and general relations with them in 1858. With all their faults, physical and moral, they are probably the most dynamic, patient, persistent, self-sacrificing, patriotic, chivalrous, and, it

must be added, vain people in existence. In view of their quality of bravery alone, England may be proud to have them as political allies, and it cannot be doubted that within the next decade the Japanese will force the proudest of our Western "proprietary powers" to recognise their full political and social equality. Failing this, they are themselves proud and gallant enough to perish in the attempt, if necessary, to a man. No library worthy of the name should be without this book.—E. H. PARKER.

HARPER AND BROTHERS; LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1903.

II. *In the Uttermost East*, by CHARLES H. HAWES.

This work, as its secondary title shows, is an account of investigations among the natives and the Russian convicts of Sakhalien, and contains, as well, interesting notes and illustrations of what the author saw during his travels in Korea, Manchuria, and Siberia, and as such is worthy of much praise. As the author himself says, "Books on Siberia fall into two classes, the older into 'exile literature,' and the more recent into 'Siberian railway sketches,'" and he in some sort has combined parts of each. The book is particularly valuable just now, when every eye is directed on the Far East, giving, as it does, a satisfactory account of the inhospitable and little-known island of Sakhalien and its convict settlements, and much that is new about the aboriginal tribes, the Orochons, the Tungus, and the Gilyaks, and their manners and customs.

Travelling through Korea to Vladivostok, the author went from there up the Amur—he gives an account of the massacre of the Chinese by the Russians at Blagovestchensk on pp. 37-41—and thence to Sakhalien, to which island he devotes fifteen out of the twenty-three chapters of the book.

Sakhalien has hardly been explored until recently, even by its nearest neighbours, the Japanese. It appears under the name of "Karafto" in one of their maps made shortly after 1613, and it became known thirty years later to the Dutch captain, Martin Vries, during his search for a legendary "Gout en Silverycke Eylant." In 1640 the Russians knew of it by hearsay, then in 1709 the Jesuit Fathers were able to describe it; yet as late as 1846 the Russian Gevrilov still regarded it as a peninsula, and it was not until three years later that its insularity was proved by Captain Nevelsky.

In 1875 the Japanese gave up their claim to a portion of the island in exchange for the Kurile archipelago, and since then Russia has owned the whole, and has made it the penal settlement for her least reclaimable convicts, the importation of whom commenced in 1858.

Of the penal colonies in Sakhalien Mr. Hawes has much to tell. He recognises the natural beauty of the island, but does not forget the ordinary prisoner's "hard labour"; and while he does not wish to exaggerate the horrors of the convicts' perpetual exile, he cannot help painting a very sombre picture of their life. The governors of the prisons are often arbitrary and brutal; the punishments of the *knout* and the *plet*, along with the "chained prison," exist; convict "civil marriage" or concubinage between the male prisoners—many of them murderers—and any female criminal who, her sentence not being less than two years, has been sent to

Sakhalien, is encouraged. Martial law exists on the island, so that the death penalty is legal there, though it is not in the rest of Russia. Mr. Hawes gives many tales of prisoners, told with sympathy, and speaks with force of the immorality and the sadness prevailing throughout the island, and praises in no mean terms the philanthropic work of Miss de Mayer, who, in spite of much opposition, has contrived to bring a ray of light into the convict life in Sakhalien.

Intending originally during his travels to examine the Ainu and their customs, the writer gives us many observations on the aboriginal tribes of Sakhalien. He says much of the Orochons, a Tungus tribe who have shown some advance in civilization, and have become members of the Orthodox Church, and of the Gilyaks, who "possess the hairless faces of the Mongol," and are at first sight much like the American Indians, though some, perhaps, have intermingled with the Ainu. He tells us a great amount of ethnographic lore that is new and valuable. In Chapter XI., e.g., he gives an account of the Bear Festival, the winter fête of the Gilyaks, originally a religious procession, in which the Bear of the tribe, captured young and fed up to the age of four, is led out, bound, tempted with forest berries, and then is carefully killed by the Gilyaks with every kind of ceremony.

Leaving Sakhalien, Mr. Hawes returned to Vladivostok, where he believed that "officially" the Manchurian railway was to be opened next day. However, he found that it was "neither officially opened nor even completed," and he decided, without waiting for permission, to go by the railway as far as he could towards the Frontier. He describes the bad laying of the railway which took him thither, and his careful incognito. From the Frontier he traversed Manchuria, and then, finally crossing Trans-Baikalia, he arrived in Moscow, and was able to issue later, in due course, a very attractive account of his travels for our perusal.—F. S.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1903.

12. *The Autobiography of Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith, Bart., G.C.B., of Aliwal, on the Sutlej*, edited by G. C. MOORE-SMITH, M.A. The siege of Ladysmith in 1900 drew Mr. Moore-Smith's attention to this fascinating autobiography, which, until then, had remained unpublished in the hands of Sir E. A. Holdich, and we cannot but feel grateful to him for having put it before us in printed form, as it contains some of the best rapid sketches of the Peninsular campaign we know.

Sir Harry Smith served his country in four continents. He was born in 1787, and entered the army in 1804. In 1806 he served at the siege of Monte Video, and returned home in 1807, only to be ordered off to Spain in the next year. From that time, except when invalided home after Corunna, he remained with the army throughout the whole of the Peninsular War. His racy style of writing makes his reminiscences differ much from the ordinary war memoirs, for while recounting fully the horrors of the campaign—and they were many—he lets us see his keen joy in a fight, his care of his men, love of his comrades, and his fondness for sport, to the

extent of coursing hares before a battle began. It was at the age of twenty-four, just after the terrible storming of Badajos, that the happiest period of Smith's life began. A young Spanish girl, who had lost everything in the war, was entrusted to his care by her sister, and this child of fourteen, Juana de Leon, became his wife. This union was an ideal one; they had no thoughts except for each other, and thirty years later he wrote: "From that day to this she has been my guardian angel." Juana became the pet of the regiment and of the Duke of Wellington. Her husband taught her to ride, and it is delightful to think of her exciting life even during the terrible war. Smith writes on the day of the Battle of Salamanca: "It is difficult to say who was the proudest on the morning of the battle, horse, wife, or Enrique, as I was always called." Her old groom West, "as the battle began, took her to the rear, much to her annoyance," and at night she slept on the field of battle on a bed made of green wheat then just in full ear, though "she had to hold her horse all night; and he ate all her bed of green wheat, to her juvenile amusement." But we must not linger too long over their adventures in Spain. Smith served under Tackenham in the sad New Orleans expedition, and returned in time for Waterloo, of the horrors of which he gives a telling description. "I had been over many a field of battle, but with the exception of one spot at New Orleans, and the breach of Badajos, I had never seen anything to be compared with what I saw at Waterloo; the *whole* field from right to left was a mass of dead bodies." After Waterloo, which made the writer a C.B., we have a glimpse of gaiety—fox-hunting—and revelry in prostrate France, and in 1818 are told of the sad discharge of the Peninsular veterans. Commands in Britain followed, and then Smith, with his devoted wife, left in 1825 for Nova Scotia.

Jamaica saw him next, and then, in 1829, he became Deputy Quarter-master-General at the Cape of Good Hope, took part in the Kaffir War, and did a great deal towards the advance of the now non-extant "Province of Queen Adelaide." In 1840 Harry Smith was made Adjutant-General of the Queen's troops in India, and as such was one of the great leaders in the Sikh War, and Thackeray wrote of his account of the Battle of Aliwal (where he won his baronetcy), "A nobler deed was never told in nobler language."

With Aliwal and Sobraon the delightful autobiography itself ceases, but Mr. Moore-Smith gives a skilful account of the remainder of Sir Harry Smith's career, and narrates his administration of Cape Colony during his governorship from 1847 to 1852, which included the trying period of war of the Orange River Sovereignty, and his home commands during the evening of his life, for this gallant soldier lived on until 1860, and his devoted wife, whose name remains in Ladysmith, until 1872.—F. S.

LUZAC AND CO.; 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1903.

13. *The Army of the Indian Moghuls: its Organization and Administration*, by WILLIAM IRVINE, late Bengal Civil Service. This book is a mine of curious information, collected with great labour and pains from recondite sources; and it deals with a subject of supreme importance to the student

of that period of Indian history which immediately preceded the British domination of the country. Upon this point the opening sentences of the author's final chapter are well worth attention :

"The war organization of the Moghul Empire offers something more than a mere antiquarian interest. The more I study the period, the more I am convinced that military inefficiency was the principal, if not the sole, cause of that Empire's final collapse. All other defects and weaknesses were as nothing in comparison with this. . . . It is a curious problem, then, to consider what causes could have led to the military decrepitude of a monarchy which had been founded and maintained by its military prestige. How came it to pass that what had been gained by the sword was at length to perish by the sword?"

It is a pity that the facts which the author has accumulated in his extensive research should not have been presented in a somewhat more attractive form. The book well deserves to be studied by those who take an interest in its subject, but it has not any of those felicities of style and arrangement which might have made it studied for its own sake. The gist of it will, it is hoped, be incorporated in a history of the Moghul Empire which the author has in hand, and may then, perhaps, take a more distinctly literary form. In its present shape it consists to a great extent of rough notes (some of them very baldly expressed) grouped together under arbitrary headings, without any consideration for chronological sequence. If we date the commencement of the Moghul Empire from the victory of Bāber at Panipat in 1526, and take the other great battle of Panipat in 1761, with which Elphinstone concludes his history of India, as the date of its close, it lasted for fully 235 years, and during that time many changes in the administration of its military affairs must necessarily have occurred. There must have been periods of initiation, of development, and of decay. In reading Mr. Irvine's volume, one is never quite certain from page to page with which period he is dealing. The rules seem to belong to an early age, and the examples to a later, or *vice versâ*. Thus, in Chapter V., dealing with the verification of recruits and horses, the first paragraph illustrates the necessity of the practice by a quotation from an author who wrote in A.D. 1787 about the state of the army in Bengal in 1750, when an officer receiving pay for 1,700 men could not muster more than seventy or eighty. The next paragraph begins (as if Akbar were a hero of the eighteenth century) : "It was to put down these evil practices that Akbar revived, and enforced more strictly than before, a system of descriptive rolls of men and horses, etc." As a matter of fact, so far as the "Moghul army in India" was concerned, it was Akbar who *introduced* the system in the sixteenth century, and in 1750 the army in Bengal could hardly have been reckoned by the Moghul Emperor of the day as a part of his own forces. In the next paragraph, for illustration of one of the details of Akbar's system, we have a quotation from Orme, who wrote of the time when the French and English were striving for the mastery in Southern India.

Errors in the transliteration of Persian and Hindustani words may seem a small matter to carp at, but a few changes, such as *khil'at* for *khila't*,



in'ām for inā'm, siyar for sīyar, 'amal for 'aml, tabar for tabr, and muta'akhhirin with five syllables for mutākharin with four, would be decided emendations. When Persian poetry is quoted, one may reasonably expect that it should be reproduced so as to scan. This is not the case in the first line of the couplet on p. 127, in the third line on p. 109, and the second line on p. 66. In the latter instance a long vowel, probably the Persian *izāfat*, is required after the word "akhtar"; but if an *izāfat* be supplied, the translation must be modified. Mr. Irvine has corrected some amusing mistakes of the writers whom he quotes, occasioned by their ignorance of the language, but appears not to have avoided a pitfall himself when he says on p. 197 that the large tent constructed by Shahjehan's orders bore the name of Dil-bādīl, which he translates "Generous heart." This name is surely a misreading (pardonable enough) of the picturesque Hindi term "dalbādal" (*lit.* a mass of clouds on the horizon), so commonly used to describe a tent of great size, or a number of tents joined together. The word is to be found in Platts' Hindustani Dictionary, which ought by this time to have superseded all the others—at all events, in the libraries of scholars; and the present writer heard it applied by his own servants to Lord Lytton's camp at Delhi in January, 1877. The translation of the Hindi verses quoted at p. 206 requires considerable revision. It will probably be found that the concluding two words of the last couplet but one are really a single word, "dini-ara" (the sun), which has no connection whatever with the Muhammadan war cry of "Din." Certainly the word "manu" and its sister form "manahu," which occur repeatedly in the latter halves of the couplets, do not mean "*men*" nor "*hearts*," but are abbreviations of the word "māno"—*i.e.*, "you may suppose," used like our "as if" in introducing a simile.—W.

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SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; LONDON, 1903.

14. *The Masked Tawareks*, by W. J. HARDING KING, F.R.G.S., etc. The enterprising traveller went in search of these desert-bound people, and he gives us in this volume a map of the route he took. The epithet "masked" is applied to them because of their curious practice of muffling up their faces. After all the trouble he had taken to discover them in their natural whereabouts, he had considerable doubt as to whether he would be able to see their faces or to prevail upon any of them to unveil; for "a Tawarek practically never removes his mask. He considers it grossly immodest to let his face be seen, even by the members of his own family. He accordingly keeps it continually concealed by his 'litham.' He lives in it, he sleeps in it; and even when eating or drinking he never removes it, but merely draws it away from the lower part of his face, and passes the food or cup up to his mouth from beneath it." The abode of these strange people is far away to the south of Algeria, in the trackless wastes of the Sahara Desert. It is extraordinary how little is known about these wild and dreaded raiders. A mystery seems to brood over them. No one as yet knows who they are or whence they came. Their religion is a kind of corrupt Muhammadanism rather than anything else. Some incline to the

opinion that they were originally a Christian race, and that they were confused and corrupted in the earlier centuries of the Muhammadan conquests. Nor does their language afford much light on the subject. They have a written language, and in different places there are rock-inscriptions of old date. The letters, as to the origin of which there is much diversity of opinion, appear to be traceable, in part at least, to the ancient Greek, which appears to have come into the Sahara through the Libyan Desert. The primal language of these strange people appears to have been a mixture of Greek and Phœnician; but there is with their spoken tongue a considerable mixture of low Arabic. The art of writing exists among them, but in a very crude and unsettled form, and it is evidently known to but few of them. For what has hitherto been ascertained regarding the Tawareks, the greatest possible credit is due to the bravery and enterprise of French travellers and scholars, such as Hanoteau, Bissuel, Duveyrier, and Mercier. The most recent in this *terra incognita* is our present author, who has written a book from personal observation and first-hand knowledge. The work is contained in upwards of 330 pages, and is illustrated with more than forty photogravures. The work is well printed, and has a fairly good index; but table of contents there is none—a deficiency which may be supplied in a later edition.—B.

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CALMANN-LEVY; PARIS, 3, RUE AUBER, 1903.

15. *L'Inde*, by PIERRE LOTI, of the Academie Française.

The gifted author divides his extremely interesting book into six parts, bearing the following headings: (1) On the Way to India; (2) In Ceylon; (3) With the Maharajah of Travancore; (4) In the India of the Great Palms; (5) In Famine-stricken India; and (6) Benares. His description of India and Indian life is very vivid and charming, and is quite unique in its style, be it that of the India of Islam or the India of Hinduism. We can cordially recommend the book to our readers.

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THE LINSOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY; TORONTO AND PHILADELPHIA.

W. AND R. CHAMBERS, LTD.; LONDON AND EDINBURGH, 1903.

16. *The Progress of British Empire in the Century*, by J. STANLEY LITTLE, author of "My Royal Father," "What is Art," "A World Empire," "South Africa," "The United States of Britain," "A Vision of Empire," etc.

A useful volume of the "Nineteenth Century Series." The writer has correctly stated in his preface that the present time is appropriate to sum up the progress of the British Empire, since it is manifest that "Great and Greater Britain have arrived at a supreme moment of their national existence"—considering the help and co-operation of our various colonies wherever or whenever help is needed. Current events show that this consolidation is being gradually cemented and strengthened against any Power that may attack us. It is therefore of the utmost importance to embrace the opportunity which this work affords of perusing an accurate history of the various steps and agencies by which this has been accomplished. The author points out the various mistakes committed by our

statesmen in the past by their indifference, gross ignorance, and even hostilities, as some of them have said, "Cut the painter and let them go." All this has now changed, and his work will tend more and more to advance the unity and prosperity of "a united Empire." We regret, however, that the author has omitted to mention the names of the pioneers of the Colonial Institute, such as Dr. Eddy, Mr. R. G. Haliburton, Mr. Ravington, and others. The volume contains a very minute and copious index.

17. *The Progress of Australasia in the Nineteenth Century*, by T. A. COGHLAN, Honorary Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, Statistician of New South Wales, and T. T. EWING, Member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, with which are incorporated, by permission of the Government of New South Wales and the other principal colonies, certain statistics and other matter prepared for the official publications. The title-page alone indicates the value of this reliable work, written by so well-known statisticians as Mr. Coghlan and Mr. Ewing. The first part is introductory and general; the second part, "New South Wales," is embraced in eight chapters; the third part, "Victoria," also in eight chapters; the fourth part, "Queensland," in four chapters; the fifth part, "South Australia," in two chapters; the sixth part, "Tasmania," in four chapters; the seventh part, "Western Australia," in four chapters; the eighth part, on "Industrial Periods," in eight chapters; and the ninth part, "Australasia of To-day," in three chapters. There is also a chronological index "to events in Australasia." The work, for accuracy, is invaluable.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1903.

18. *Sixteen Years in Siberia: Some Experiences of a Russian Revolutionist*, by LEO DEUTSCH. Translated by HELEN CHESHOLM. With illustrations. The work contains an admirable preface by the translator, in which she says: "The author of the following narrative is a leader in the Russian revolutionary movement. The German transliteration of his name is given here as being the form he himself uses in Western Europe; but he is called 'Deuc' in the English version of Stepniak's 'Underground Russia,' which was translated from the Italian, retaining the Italian transliteration of names. A more exact rendering of the Russian would be Deitch, the 'ei' pronounced somewhat as in the English word 'rein.'" The translator gives in her preface a short history, or sketch, of the revolutionist movement in Russia, and its development and position at the present time. The work is profusely illustrated by representations of persons and places, reproductions of photographs taken from life. The narrative itself must be read as from a revolutionary student exiled for possessing literature which he intended to circulate surreptitiously throughout Russia, whose veracity the reader must judge for himself.

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HODDER AND STOUGHTON; 27, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, 1903.

19. *Impressions of Indian Travel*, by OSCAR BROWNING. The author, in a very racy style, gives his impressions of a short visit to India in search

of health. He had special opportunities of discussing questions of much importance now occupying the attention of the Government. His conclusion is: "It is difficult to imagine a machinery by which the Government of India might be transferred, even partially, to the hands of the Indian people. If that is impossible, and the Congress has not discovered a manner in which it might be introduced, we are thrown back upon the personal government of the Viceroy, advised by his Council and controlled by the India Office. If personal government is to exist at all, it must be strong, or its weakness will result in misery to the governed. I cannot imagine anyone engaged in a more beneficent course of action than a Viceroy of India, who devotes all his talents and energy to the good of the people over whom he is set."

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CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY; SALISBURY SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.

20. *The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society of the Punjab and Sindh*, by the late Rev. ROBERT CLARK, M.A. Edited and revised by ROBERT MACONACHIE, late L.C.S. The first edition of this work was published in 1885. Mr. Clark in 1899 sent the copy for a second and revised edition, omitting some portions, adding new matter, and bringing the history of the different branches of the mission up to date. At Mr. Clark's death (May 16, 1900) the whole responsibility of editing the present edition fell to Mr. Maconachie, who has executed his task with remarkable ability. The record of the success and progress of the mission is both interesting and valuable. The book is illustrated with a portrait of the revered missionary, whose labours extended to nearly half a century, and also with the portraits of distinguished Christian rulers of the Punjab, some of the prominent Punjab missionaries, notable converts, and other interesting reminiscences. There are also maps of the Mohammedan lands of the East and of the Punjab, with appendices. We cordially recommend the work to all who are interested in promoting the best interests of India.

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T. FISHER UNWIN; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

21. *Labour and Other Questions in South Africa: Being mainly Considerations on the Rational and Profitable Treatment of the Coloured Races living there*, by INDICUS. The author, "who has large business interests in India," having made a tour in South Africa, has given his impressions, largely based on "a record of facts observed by himself and of conversations with persons of diverse races and various political views." The author states that he "lost no opportunity of obtaining and recording the opinions of anyone who appeared to have real opportunities of gauging the feelings of the inhabitants, white or black, or who had such experience of the country as enabled him to speak with any semblance of authority on past events, or to indicate the best policy for the future." The last chapter of the work (XII.) gives a summary of the author's conclusions, to which we would invite the earnest attention of our readers, especially those respecting the "Labour Question."

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Duties of the Heart*, by RABBI BACHYE; translated, with an introduction, by EDWIN COLLINS (The Orient Press, Fleet Street, London, 1904). This is a small book of forty-eight pages, being a translation of Bachye's "Guide to the Duties of the Heart," and deals with such subjects as "The Highest Good," "The Gates of Knowledge," "The Ethics of the Body and of the Soul," and such-like topics. The original was the first work that linked the ethical science of the West with the emotional and spiritual morality of the East. "It combines," as Mr. Collins tells us, "in an artistic unity, elements drawn from the philosophy and contemplative mysticism of the Arabs, from Biblical and Rabbinic Judaism, and from Greek thought." It is a learned work of mysticism, and much of its value to English readers will be found in the valuable footnotes which go through it and in the discriminating diagnosis embodied in the introduction.—B.

To that same series, "The Wisdom of the East," belongs another booklet of the same size, *The Odes of Confucius*, rendered into English by L. Cranmer-Byng, and issued from the same Press, 1904. This also is translated into English metre of different kinds, and is likewise preceded by an introduction, in which an interesting account is given of Confucius and his philosophy. It is impossible to read these odes without forming a very exalted conception of the thought and piety of this great mystic of the ancient time.—B.

*Stanford's Map of the Siberian Railway, the Great Land Route to China and Korea* (Edward Stanford, 12, 13, and 14, Long Acre, London, W.C., December, 1903). This is a well got-up map in colours, measuring 42 inches by 27 inches, showing the route taken by the railway between Moscow and the termini of Vladivostock and Port Arthur in the Far East. The Transcaspien line is also shown running through Merv, Bokhara, Samarcand, Khojand to Kokand, and the projected line from the latter terminus to the Chinese province of Kansuh. The southern part includes parts of North-East Persia, North Afghanistan, Chitral, the desert of Gobi, and the Chinese provinces of Kansuh, Shensi, and Kuang-Su. It will prove useful to refer to during the present struggle between Russia and Japan, showing as it does a part of the Japanese Empire and Korea; also *A Map of Part of Tibet*, including Sikkim, the Chumbi Valley, and Bhutan, showing the routes between Darjiling and Lhasa, January, 1904. Scale, 8 miles to an inch.

*Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, showing the Operations, Expenditure, and Condition of the Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1901; also Report of the U.S. National Museum* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903). This valuable compilation is rich in illustrations of a great variety of objects. Those relating to Indian tribes of the Purus River, Brazil, are especially interesting.

*The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory*, 1904. Sixth year of new issue. Edited by EMILY JANES, Organizing Secretary of the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland. Twenty-fourth

year (London: Adam and Charles Black). This is a *vade-mecum* to every lady interested in literature, education, employments, professions, industries, and various other subjects tending towards the advancement and welfare of the female population of our country. It also includes a short summary of the events of the year, an obituary, a calendar, and a useful directory to a variety of subjects.

*Among the Tibetans*, by ISABELLA L. BISHOP, F.R.G.S., author of "Unbeaten Tracks in Japan," etc., with many illustrations (London: The Religious Tract Society, 65, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1904). This is a cheap edition (1s.) of a well-known, interesting, and charmingly-written work on a region of the world as yet little known, but, as time flows, will become more and more interesting and important to Christian civilization and European commerce.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *Report of the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1902-1903*;—*Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1902-1903*; also *Supplement*, and *Resolution reviewing the Reports of the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the Year 1902-1903* (Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1904);—*Census of India, 1901* (in three volumes, XXVI., XXVI.A, XXVI.B), Travancore. Part I., Report; Part II., Imperial Tables; Part III., Provincial Tables, by N. Subrahanyan Aiyar, M.A., M.B., C.M., Dewan Peishkar-Census Commissioner (Trivandrum: Printed at the Malabar Mail Press, 1903);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue Philologique paraissant tous les trois mois (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie publiée, avec la collaboration de MM. Basset, Daressy, Erman, Iacoby, Lefébure, Lieblein, Loret, Moret, Naville, Spiegelberg, Steindorff, par Karl Piehl (Upsala: C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate);—*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press; Luzac and Co., London);—*The Buddhist*, a monthly magazine, edited by D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A. (published by the Young Men's Buddhist Association, Colombo);—*The Sociological Society*, Report (London: 5, Old Queen Street, S.W.);—*Detailed Proposals for a Tariff Bill*, by a Candidate (Bolton's, Knightsbridge, London, 1904);—*Agricultural and Industrial Problems in India*, by Alfred Chatterton, Professor of Engineering on special duty, Madras (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras);—*The Rapid Review* for February and March (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.); George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Idler*, *The Strand Magazine*, and *The Wide World Magazine* for January, February, and March;—*The Century Book of Gardening*, parts up to 24;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research

in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Calcutta Review* (C. J. A. Pritchard, The Edinburgh Press, 47, Bentinck Street, Calcutta. Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co., London).

We regret that want of space obliges us to hold over the notices of the following works: *The Missions of the Church Missionary Society, and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in the Punjab and Sindh*, by the late Rev. Robert Clark, M.A. (London: Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, E.C., 1904);—*Le Palais d'Angkor Vat*, ancienne residence des Rois Khmers, par le General De Beylié' (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1903);—*The Peril of the Sword* (concerning Havelock's relief of Lucknow, etc.), by Colonel A. F. P. Harcourt, author of "Jenetha's Venture," etc. Dedicated by permission to F.-M. Earl Roberts, K.G., V.C. (Skeffington and Son, 34, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C., London, 1903);—*The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia, known also as the Moallakat*, translated from the original Arabic by Lady Anne Blunt, done into English verse by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (London: Published by the translators. Printed and sold by the Chiswick Press, Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, 1903);—*Fasciculi Malayensis, Anthropological and Zoological Results of an Expedition to Perak and the Siamese Malay States, 1901-1902*, undertaken by Nelson Annandale and Herbert C. Robinson, under the auspices of the University of Edinburgh and the University of Liverpool. Supplement, map, and itinerary; also Part II., *Zoology* (Published for the University Press of Liverpool by Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, New York, and Bombay,

1903);—*Le Messianisme dans l'Hétérodoxie Musulmane*, par E. Blochet (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, Éditeur);—*Stars of the Desert*, by Laurence Hope, author of "The Garden of Kama" (London: William Heinemann; New York: John Lane, 1903);—*Godward Ho! A Symposium specially issued for the Ananda Mission*, by Satyananda S. Sarma (Madras: Published by the Diffusion of Knowledge Agency, Triplicane, 1903);—*Aspects of the Vedānta, Idylls of Ancient Ind: Sakuntala*, by R. Vasudeva Row, B.A.; and *Hindu Social Progress*, by N. Subbarau Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L. (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, 1904);—Part II. of the *Lubābu'l-Albāb of Muḥammad 'Aẓfi*, edited in the original Persian, with preface, indices, and variants, by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B., M.R.A.S.; Sir Thomas Adams, Professor of Arabic, Fellow of Pembroke College, and some time Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge (London: Luzac and Co.; Leyden: E. J. Brill);—*Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, by H. L. Duff, of the British Central Africa Administration, with illustrations and map (London: George Bell and Sons, 1903);—*The Middle Eastern Question, or Some Political Problems of Indian Defence*, by Valentine Chirol, author of "The Far Eastern Question," with maps, illustrations, and appendices (London: John Murray, 1903);—*Manchuria and Korea*, by H. J. Whigham, author of "The Persian Problem," etc., with a map and illustrations (London: Isbister & Co., Limited, 1904);—*The Rise of English Culture*, by Edwin Johnson, M.A., author of "The Rise of Christendom," etc., with a brief account of the author and his writings (London: Williams and Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904).



## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Nineteenth Indian National Congress was held at Madras during the three last days of 1903. Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose, the well-known Bengal orator, presided. In his speech, *inter alia*, he recommended the free education of the masses, and the admission of natives to the higher offices of administration.

The annual Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference was also held at the end of December last. It was attended by 800 delegates from all parts of India. His Highness the Aga Khan presided. Papers on various subjects were read and many resolutions passed, one of which was in favour of female education upon a basis conforming to the customs and usages of Muhammadans.

The Indian Government has issued the text of a resolution dealing with Lord Curzon's scheme for the reform of education. It states that the existing methods require sweeping changes, and that competitive examinations for the public services should be abolished, and in its stead a system of candidates on probation substituted. The College curriculum to be raised, the Government assisting deserving colleges. Teachers to be specially trained, and the Education Department be given four extra officers to assist the present directors.

The "Official Secrets Bill" has been passed by the Legislative Council. The majority of the native members opposed the measure.

His Excellency the Viceroy made a tour during February in Eastern Bengal, and at Dacca laid the foundation-stone of a new college.

Lady Rivaz laid the foundation-stone of the Victoria Zenana Hospital at Delhi on February 19, a sum of Rs. 70,000 is to be spent on the building and its equipment, and Rs. 80,000 retained as funded capital. The Government has promised an annual contribution of Rs. 5,000 towards working expenses.

Mr. Frank Bodilly has been appointed a judge of the High Court of Judicature at Calcutta, in succession to Mr. Charles Henry Hill, who retires.

Mr. Lewis Moore, I.C.S., has been appointed judge of the High Court of Judicature at Madras, in the place of Sir Vembakam Bhashyam Aiyangar, K.C.I.E., resigned.

Mr. Erle Richards has been appointed an ordinary member of the Council of the Governor-General in succession to Mr. Thomas Raleigh, C.S.I., whose term of appointment has expired.

INDIA : FRONTIER—TIBET.—Colonel Younghusband, with the headquarters of the Mission, left Phari on January 9, and arrived at Tanu on the north side of the Tang La Pass. On January 17 eight Tibetan officials with 600 horsemen approached the Mission Camp at Tanu, and, after being interviewed by the secretary to the Mission, rode off towards Guru. Colonel Younghusband, who visited the Tibetan camp at Guru, had a hostile reception. The Tibetans refuse to fulfil the treaty of 1890, or to discuss a new one, till their claim for large tracts of country in Sikkim

is satisfied. They have prohibited trade between the Chumbi Valley and the rest of Tibet. The health of the Mission is good, notwithstanding the severe weather. The political situation is unchanged.

Tinput Jongpon, envoy of the Bhutan Government and a member of the Bhutanese Council, arrived at Phari on February 14 to pay a friendly visit to the Mission on behalf of the Tongsa Penlop and the Government of Bhutan. He proceeded afterwards to Tanu on a visit to Colonel Younghusband. Negotiations which there took place resulted in the granting full permission to survey and construct an alternative road, partly through Bhutanese territory, from the plains to Chumbi.

The demarcation of a portion of the Indo-Afghan boundary which adjoins the Mohmand country, fixed by the Durand agreement in 1893, is being arranged. A party under Major Roos-Keppel has proceeded to the Mohmand border beyond Dacca. The Governor of Jallalabad has been directed by the Amir to insure the safety of that officer and his party, so long as they are in Afghan territory, and proclamations have been issued to this effect to the Mohmands, Shinwari, and Kunar tribes.

The Khan of Nawagai was a guest of the Government at Peshawar in January last.

INDIA : NATIVE.—On the occasion of his installation, the Nawab of Bhawalpur promised annual grants, amounting to nearly Rs. 5,000, from his private purse, to different educational institutions, among which are the Muhammadan College at Aligarh, the Islamiyah College at Lahore, and the Islamiyah High School at Amritsar.

The marriage ceremony of Shrimant Guvaraja Fatehsing Rao, heir of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, and the daughter of Ramchandra Rao Naik Nimbalkar, nephew of the Chief of Phultan, was performed in Baroda on February 4.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., senior councillor to his Highness the Maharaja of Maisur, having been offered, has accepted the Dewanship of Travancore. He will be succeeded by Mr. C. Sreenivasiengar, second councillor.

CEYLON.—The pearl fishery began on March 14. It is estimated that the yield will be 36,000,000 oysters, with a value of Rs. 960,000, (£64,000).

BALUCHISTAN.—The principal tunnel on the Quetta-Nushki line has been pierced, and is now available for traffic.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir has removed his brother, Sirdar Muhammad Umar Jan, from the governorship of Kabul, and has appointed his father-in-law, Muhammad Sarvar Khan, the Shahagassi in his place. Umar Jan and his mother Bibi Halima are under strict surveillance.

PERSIA.—Muhammad Ali Mirza, the heir to the throne and Governor-General of Azerbaijan, paid a visit to the Shah in February last.

The imports during 1902 and 1903 amounted in value to £5,000,000, and the exports to £3,300,000.

ADEN.—On January 7 an attack was made on a British party at Dthina, about 120 miles from Aden. One sepoy was killed and another wounded. The party fell back into the Fadthli country.

CHINA.—The Emperor has signed a commercial treaty by which American Consuls may now be sent to Mukden and An-tung. The Emperor has also ratified a commercial treaty with Japan. The Maritime Customs revenue for 1903 amounted to 30,500,000 taels.

An imperial edict has been published proclaiming the neutrality of China.

KOREA AND JAPAN.—The Japanese demands, which were formulated in a note to the Russian Government, in reference to the maintenance of the independence of Korea and China, and the withdrawal of Russia from Manchuria, were handed to the Russian Government last August. Counter proposals were submitted to Japan, which were rejected. After repeated discussions, the Japanese Government finally presented on October 30 its definite proposals. On February 6, the final proposals not having been complied with, the Japanese Government broke off diplomatic relations. On the same day the fleet sailed from Sasebo, one division, escorting transports, arrived off Chemulpho on February 8, when the Admiral ordered the two Russian warships to leave in twenty-four hours. The vessels left and attacked the Japanese fleet, but returned to harbour, and were blown up by their own officers. Another Japanese division attacked Port Arthur on the night of February 8-9, where three Russian vessels were torpedoed and crippled. In another action four other Russian ships were injured. On February 10 Japanese troops entered Seoul, and held the south port of Masampho as a naval and military base. Admiral Alexief, the Viceroy of the Far East, transferred his headquarters to Harbin, where the Russian army is now massing. On March 6 a Japanese fleet of seven vessels bombarded Vladivostock. Japan has negotiated a new treaty with Korea by which she guarantees its independence and integrity.

A Japanese domestic loan of 100,000,000 yen (£10,000,000) having been issued, Tokio contributed the whole amount. The Emperor has subscribed 20,000,000, the Bank of Japan 20,000,000, and the Nobles Bank 10,000,000.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—Sir John Anderson, K.C.M.G., of the Colonial Office, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States, in the place of Sir Frank A. Swettenham.

EGYPT.—The accounts for 1903 show that the revenue amounted to £12,463,700, and the expenditure to £10,595,979, leaving a surplus of £1,867,721. The expenditure includes £253,037 representing the annual economy on the Privileged Debt. Of the surplus, £1,124,121 has been paid into the General Reserve Fund, and the balance of £743,600 remains at the disposal of the Egyptian Government. The excess of the actual receipts over the estimated receipts was £1,463,700. The expenses include, for the first time, the charge of the reservoir annuity, half of which, £75,648, became due and was paid in 1903.

The Budget receipts for 1904 are estimated at £11,500,000, and the expenditure, including payments to the sinking fund of the loan, to the conversion and reserve funds, at £11,410,000. The actual surplus will amount to £927,000.

Muhammad Pasha Sherif, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has resigned, and has been succeeded by Aziz Izzat Pasha, Aide-de-camp to the Khedive.

Mr. Vincent Corbett, the British Commissioner on the Caisse of the Public Debt, will succeed Sir Eldon Gorst as Financial Adviser to the Khedive.

**SOMALILAND.**—Early in January a reconnaissance surprised 2,000 dervishes at Jidballi, thirty-eight miles east of Badween, the enemy losing 80 killed and 100 wounded.

On January 10 the British attacked 5,000 dervishes, under the command of Hajji Yusuf Dolbahauta, who lost during the fight and subsequent retreat about 1,200 killed and many prisoners. Three British officers were killed and nine wounded.

The First Brigade (Manning's) reconnoitred to the eastward, the Second Brigade (Egerton's) left Jedballi on January 15, and crossed the Nogal Valley. By a sweeping movement, extending from Dumodle to Halin, a party of the enemy was surprised, and 50 of their spearmen were killed; 3,000 camels and 20,000 sheep were captured.

Whilst crossing the Sorl, the Mulla lost all his sheep and goats, but saved his camels. He is still in the Widali district. He has been informed by General Egerton that only his death or capture will terminate the operations against him.

The Abyssinians have returned to Gerloguby, having fulfilled the strategic purpose for which they started.

General Egerton has returned to Berbera, whence operations will be directed by telegraph. There are no regular troops south of Bohotle.

An advanced base has been formed at Lasdurea, 100 miles south-east of Berbera, General Manning and Major Brooke operating on the northern edge of the Nogal.

**RHODESIA.**—The Imperial Government has given its sanction to the imposition of a hut-tax of £1 per annum in Southern Rhodesia; this is an increase of 10s.

**TRANSCAAL.**—The result of General Delarey's mission to India has been that all the Boer prisoners interned at Ahmednagar, with the exception of ten, have taken the oath.

The Government has agreed to postpone the issue of the first £10,000,000 of the war contribution loan, guaranteed by mining firms.

A petition to the Government to pass the law for the importation of Asiatic unskilled labour has been signed by 70 per cent. of the white male adults.

An Extraordinary Session of the Inter-Colonial Council was opened on March 1 at Johannesburg. Its object was to consider the financial position in view of the decrease in railway receipts, the revenue for the current year having been estimated at £2,350,000, whereas they are not likely to exceed £1,600,000. It is estimated that with the original deficit of £680,273 to be made up by contributions from the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, the sum now to be met is £1,019,250—viz., £120,000 by the Orange River Colony, and about £900,000 by the Transvaal.

As regards the guaranteed loan, the £30,000,000 had been spent as follows: Discharge of old liabilities, £4,600,000; acquisition of railways, £13,500,000; repatriation, £5,800,000; development, £5,100,000; capital expenditure on existing railways, £700,000; cost of the issue of the loan, £270,000.

The revenue for the half year ending December, 1903, amounted to £2,105,062, and the expenditure to £2,253,428. The exports for 1903 amounted to £12,908,092, including gold. The imports £19,531,048, and the Customs revenue £2,086,450, as compared with £13,067,671 and £1,578,774 in 1902.

The bursting of a reservoir in January in the ORANGE RIVER COLONY destroyed much property in Bloemfontein, and more than twenty lives were lost.

CAPE COLONY.—As the result of the resignation of the Sprigg Cabinet, a new Ministry has been formed: Dr. Jameson, Premier, with charge of native affairs; Colonel Crewe, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Walton, Treasurer; Mr. Victor Sampson, Attorney-General; Dr. Smartt, Commissioner of Public Works; Mr. Fuller, Secretary of Agriculture; Sir Lewis Michell, Minister without portfolio.

In the elections for the House of Assembly seventeen Bond candidates and seven Progressives were returned unopposed.

The imports into the Colony last year are valued at £34,685,020, as against £34,220,500 for 1902.

The Cape to Cairo Railway is expected to reach the Zambesi, at the Victoria Falls, this month (April). The next section to be built will be from the Zambesi north-east to Broken Hill (350 miles), in the direction of Lake Tanganyika.

WEST AFRICA: NORTHERN NIGERIA.—A rising has occurred among the Akapoto tribe south of the Binué. The British Resident, Captain D. S. P. O'Riordan, and Mr. C. Amyatt-Burney, District Superintendent of Police, have been killed.

An expedition over 500 strong, under the command of Colonel Montanaro, commanding the Southern Nigeria Regiment, started on January 6 from Itu, where it had concentrated, for the Ibibio country, a district which had not hitherto been visited by the white man. The object is to open up the country, which is thickly populated, with a view to the development of trade.

A serious anti-European rising has broken out in Southern Nigeria. This is supposed to be the work of a secret society known as "The Silent Ones," whose aim is the overthrow of white rule. The movement is not merely anti-missionary, but is directed against all the white population. A force of 300 troops has been despatched to the affected district, the country beyond Assaba.

The British Niger-Lake Chad Boundary Commission has safely reached Kuka, on Lake Chad, after having delimited the 1,000 miles of frontier along the Anglo-French boundary between the Niger and the Lake. The commission will return to England after visiting the islands in that portion of the Lake along which the boundary runs.

MOROCCO.—The Sultan has recalled his British employés to Fez

Serious riots have occurred at Marakesh, the southern capital. Torrential rains prevent any immediate action on the part of the Pretender and the revolted tribes.

AUSTRALASIA : COMMONWEALTH.—Lord Northcote, the new Governor-General, reached Melbourne on January 21, and was sworn in, and conveyed to the people a cordial message from the King.

On March 2 his lordship opened the Federal Parliament. In the course of his speech he said that preferential trade would secure to Australia an immense and stable market.

The Australian harvest is estimated to exceed the highest previous yield by 28,000,000 bushels.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—A *referendum* has decided that the membership of the Assembly shall be reduced from 125 to 90.

The revenue for the last six months of last year amounted to £5,310,413, as compared with £5,364,602 in the corresponding period of 1902. The value of the minerals produced during 1903 amounted to £6,059,486, an increase of £421,341 as compared with 1902. The gold yield was valued at £1,080,029, an increase of £395,059 as compared with the preceding year.

VICTORIA.—Major-General the Hon. Sir Reginald Talbot has been appointed Governor of the State in succession to Sir George Sydenham Clarke.

Mr. Irvine, the Premier, has resigned, owing to ill-health. Mr. Thomas Bent, Minister of Public Works, has been entrusted with the forming of a new Ministry.

The revenue for the last six months of 1903 amounted to £3,238,828, a decrease of £57,942 as compared with the previous year.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the last six months of 1903 amounted to £1,818,000, as compared with £1,807,000 in the corresponding period of 1902. The expenditure amounted to £1,840,600, as compared with £1,864,500.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the last six months of 1903 amounted to £1,081,527, being an increase of £18,903 over that of the corresponding period of 1902.

Lord Plunket, K.C.V.O., will succeed Lord Ranfurly as Governor.

TASMANIA.—The Governor, Sir A. E. Havelock, acting under medical advice, has resigned.

NEW ZEALAND.—The revenue for the nine months ending in December last showed an increase of £486,000 over the revenue for the corresponding period of the previous fiscal year.

CANADA.—The Dominion Parliament met on March 10, and discussed the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Amendment Bill.

The Grand Trunk Railway Company has accepted the new agreement for the proposed trans-continental railway, and has deposited \$5,000,000 as a guarantee of the performance of the contract.

Mr. Carroll, the Solicitor-General, has become a judge, and Mr. R. Lemieux has succeeded him.

NOVA SCOTIA.—The revenue for the past year amounted to \$1,243,581,

being \$103,000 more than in the former year, and gives a surplus of \$66,250. Rich gold ore has been struck in the Caribon district, Halifax county, and also at Isaac's Harbour. Numerous deposits of copper and silver ores have been uncovered at Chehcamp, in the island of Cape Breton.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Colonial revenues have increased by \$250,000 within two years, and trade has increased to the extent of \$1,000,000 annually during the past five years.

The Government has undertaken to renew the French shore *modus vivendi* for another year.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following:—Mr. W. S. McClelland, formerly engineer to the Native States of Nowanagar and Cutch;—Mr. Ernest Ayscoghe Floyer, Inspector-General of Egyptian Telegraphs, and formerly of the Indian Telegraph Service;—Captain Leonard Robert Sunkersett Arthur, C.M.G. (Burma 1887-88, Zanzibar, Uganda, Gambia expedition);—Major-General George Bligh Bowen, joined the Native Infantry in 1847, and from 1871 Acting Commissioner of Police at Madras;—Colonel James Gavin Lindsay, late Royal (Madras) Engineers, and Chairman of the Southern Mahratta Railway Company (Central India 1857);—Colonel John Fletcher Caldwell, late of the South Wales Borderers (Kafir war 1877-78);—Raja Sir Sudhal Deo, K.C.I.E., Feudatory Chief of Bamra, Central Provinces;—Colonel Thomas Henry Sale, late of the Bengal Engineers, appointed 1830, retired 1859;—Rear-Admiral William Andrew James Heath, C.B. (Syria 1840, Baltic and Black Sea 1854-55, China 1857-59); Sir Edwyn Dawes, senior partner of the firm of Gray, Dawes and Co.;—Surgeon-Colonel Sir George Thomson, K.C.B. (Afghan war 1878-79, Chitral Relief Force 1895, Tirah Expeditionary Force 1897-98);—Colonel Thomas Walker, late of the Royal Artillery, formerly of the Bombay Artillery of the Honourable East India Company;—Major-General John Pennock Campbell, late commanding 1st Battalion East Lancashire Regiment (Eastern campaign 1854-55);—Diwan Bahadur S. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, C.I.E., Inspector-General of Registration at Madras;—Lieutenant-Colonel William Lettsom Gronow, late of the Manchester Regiment (Southern Afghanistan 1879-80);—Lieutenant Cyril Amyatt Wise Amyatt-Burney, District Superintendent of Police, Northern Nigeria;—Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Russell Cree, Royal Army Medical Corps (Sudan campaign 1885, South African war 1899-1900);—Captain W. D. Morrish, R.N. (Ashanti campaign 1873-74, Sudan 1884);—Mr. James Skinner, of Siswal, in the Hissar district;—Major Alexander Ramsay Stuart, Royal Garrison Artillery (Sierre Leone 1898-99, South African war);—Major-General Thomas Boone Everest Tennant, entered the Honourable East India Company's service in 1850;—Colonel Arthur Robert Wilson, late of the Bombay Staff Corps (Persian expeditionary force 1857);—Major Alfred Cranworth Worledge, Army Pay Department (Zulu war 1879);—Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Grant (Nile expedition 1884-85);—Major-General James Graham Robert Douglas MacNeill, C.B., late of the Madras Infantry (Burmese expedition 1885-86);—Lieutenant-Colonel John

Thomas Maguire, a Military Knight of Windsor (China 1841-42, Panjab campaign 1848-49, Indian Mutiny campaign);—Major John Forbes Mosse, late of the Royal Irish Regiment (Nile expedition 1884-85);—Sir William Raymond Kynsey, late Principal Civil Medical Officer and Inspector-General of Hospitals in Ceylon (Ashanti war 1873-74);—Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Horace Manners Monckton, late commanding the 3rd Hussars (Panjab camp 1848-49);—Captain Frederick Arthur Wyllie, of the Welsh Regiment and Burma Military Police;—Captain Robert Dalkeith Jephson, Royal Army Medical Corps (Khartum campaign and South African war);—Mr. Frank Cowie, Indian Civil Service;—Mr. Byramji Bhakiji Kanga, a well-known exchange and stock-broker of Bombay;—Admiral of the Fleet the Hon. Sir H. Keppel (China 1841, Crimea, China 1857);—Commander Frank Foster Bone, R.N., retired (Egyptian war 1882);—Mr. Francis Stewart Cowie, Deputy Commissioner of Bhandara, Central Provinces;—Mr. Walter G. Doggett, drowned in the Kagera River, Africa;—Sir John M'Intyre, a former President of the Board of Land and Works and Commissioner of Crown Lands in Victoria;—Lieutenant-General Thomas Trevor Turtton, late of the 5th Haidarabad Contingent (Rohilla insurrection 1855);—Lieutenant-Colonel George Herbert Palmer, late Royal Artillery (Ashanti war 1874);—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Rocke, late of the 72nd (Crimea, Mutiny);—Mr. A. T. Pringle, Assistant Secretary to Government in the Chief Secretary's Department, Madras;—Her Highness the Rajmato Deo, mother of the Maharaja of Cooh Behar;—Sir Graham Berry, formerly Premier of Victoria;—Sir Hugh Guion Macdonell, G.C.M.G., C.B., formerly of the Rifle Brigade (British Kaffraria 1849-52), and afterwards of the Diplomatic Service;—Mr. Harry Freeman-Cohen, a prominent South African;—Major-General Douglas Hastings, late of the 78th and 62nd Regiments (Persia 1857, Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Bunbury Mauleverer, late of the 88th Regiment (Connaught Rangers) (Crimea, Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Joynt Gordon Grant, late of the Royal Sussex Regiment (Gambia 1853, Mutiny);—Major Knightley Owen Burne, of the 51st Sikhs (Waziristan expedition 1894-95, North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98);—Sir Edward Braddon, formerly of the Indian Government Service, and afterwards Premier of Tasmania 1887 (Santhal rebellion, Indian Mutiny);—General Sir Edward Lechmere Russell (Sind and Afghanistan 1842-43, Resident at Aden 1868-71);—The Right Rev. James Thomas Hayes, Bishop of Trinidad;—Colonel Henry Gratton, late of the Royal Sussex Regiment (North China campaign 1860);—Captain Sir George Morice, R.N. (Crimea, China 1858, Egyptian war 1882);—Captain Frederick Arthur Wyllie, of the Welsh Regiment, shot by a dacoit in Burma;—Captain Frederick Stoom Chapman (Egyptian war 1882);—Captain Charles Dugald Campbell, of the late Hon. East India Company's naval service 1827 to 1860 (Burmese expedition 1851-53);—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Aspinwall, late of the 3rd Dragoon Guards (Egyptian war 1882, South African war 1901-02);—General C. A. Lewis, Colonel of the North Staffordshire Regiment (Canadian rebellion 1837, Crimea campaign);—Sir Edward James Ackroyd, formerly Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Hong Kong;—Vice-Admiral Henry Bedford



Woolcombe (Kafir war 1852, Baltic 1854, China 1872-76);—Brigade-Surgeon W. H. Harris, A.M.S. (Crimea, Indian mutiny);—Lieutenant-William Oliver, R.N. (Burmese war 1885-87, Zanzibar 1896);—Mr. S. B. Ramaswami Iyengar, barrister-at-law, Chief Justice under Nawab Khurshidjah Bahadur (Haidarabad);—Lieutenant-General Donald Campbell Vanrenen, late of the Royal (Bengal) Artillery 1839-77;—Lieutenant-Colonel T. M. Jenkins, late of the Indian Staff Corps and Deputy Commissioner for Burma;—Lieutenant-General Charles Alexander McMahon, F.R.S., F.G.S., Hon. East India Company's service 1847-55 in the Madras Native Infantry;—General Sir Arthur Power Palmer, joined 5th Bengal Native Infantry 1857 (Mutiny, North-West frontier 1863-64, Abyssinia 1868, Duffla expedition 1874-75, Dutch war in Acheen 1876-77, Afghan war 1879-80, Sudan 1885, Chin Hills 1893, Tirah expedition, appointed Commander-in-Chief in India 1900);—Sir John Scott, formerly Vice-President of International Courts of Appeal for Egypt, and afterwards Judicial Adviser to His Highness the Khedive;—Captain G. H. F. Abadie, C.M.G., Second-class Resident at Zaria (Northern Nigeria 1899-1902);—Major the Hon. Henry James Anson, 2nd Battalion Highland Light Infantry (South African war 1899-1900);—General George Smart, late of the Madras Army (China expedition 1860);—Major-General Binfield Wemyss, of the Bengal Staff Corps (Afghan war 1879-80, Hazara expedition 1888);—Deputy-Surgeon-General William Bisset-Snell (North China campaign 1860);—Mr. J. Clarke, Resident Medical Officer Eden Sanatorium;—General Jeet Jang Bahadur Rana, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the Nepal army, son of Maharaja Sir Jang Bahadur, G.C.B.;—Mr. Chan Toon, barrister-at-law at Rangoon;—Major-General T. R. Nimmo, C.B. (Afghan war 1878-80);—Major W. E. Turnley, late of the Edinburgh Light Infantry Militia (3rd Royal Scots, Indian Mutiny campaign);—Captain G. Warneford, assistant political agent, assassinated near Aden;—Paymaster-in-Chief J. M. Lowcay, R.N., retired (Syrian war 1840, Mutiny);—Mr. Bean, postal superintendent to the Tibet Mission;—The Venerable Robert James French, Archdeacon of Mauritius;—General Hungerford Meyer Boddam, B.S.C. (Burmese war 1852-53, Sonthal campaign 1855);—Dr. Mohendro Lal Sircar, C.I.E., founder of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science;—Sir Edward Walter, K.C.B., founder of the Corps of Commissionaires;—Admiral Sir Robert More Molyneux, G.C.B. (Russian campaign, Bombardment of Alexandria);—Captain the Hon. Reginald Ward, D.S.O. (South African war 1899-1902);—Darbar Shri Khachar Ala Chela, C.S.I., Chief of the Kathiawar State of Jasdan;—Sir Peter Arthur Halkett (India 1852, Crimea);—Colonel George Turner Jones, commanding Royal Engineers at Secunderabad (last Afghan war and defence of Candahar);—Sir Joseph William Trutch, K.C.M.G., formerly Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and Surveyor-General of British Columbia, and afterwards Acting Resident Agent for the Dominion in British Columbia;—Sir Walter Joseph Sendall, C.C.M.G., formerly Governor of the Windward Islands and afterwards of the Barbadoes, and latterly of British Guiana;—Admiral Henry Boys (Beyrout and Acre 1840);—The Hon. Thomas Robert McInnes, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.



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